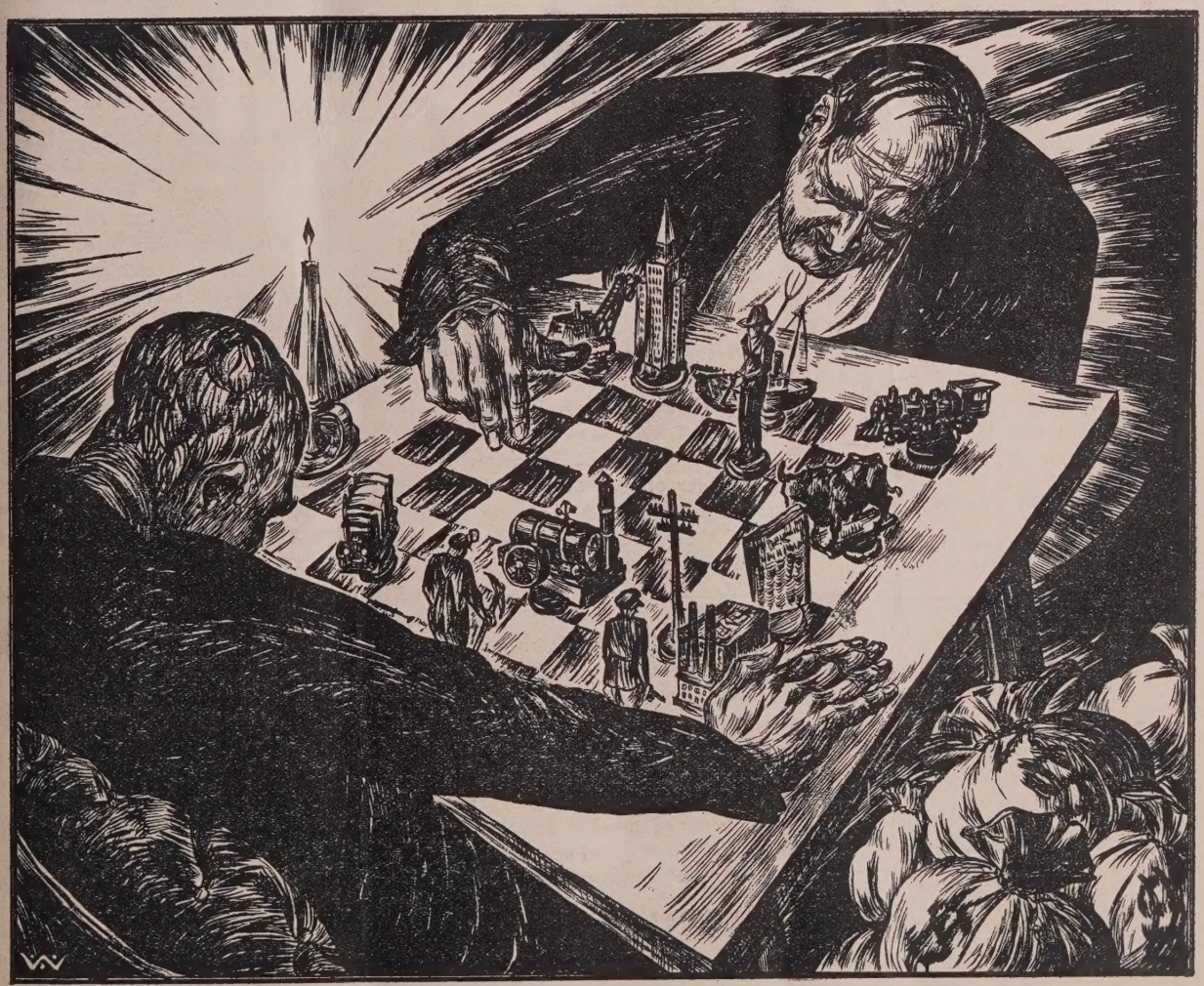
Recent Gains in Religion—Harry Emerson Fosdick

The World Tomorrow

Twenty-five Cents a Copy | Two Dollars a Year

Vol. X. | OCTOBER, 1927 | No. 10



POWER

The World Tomorrow, Inc.

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The
World Tomorrow

Vol. X October, 1927 No. 10

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The Point of View

TWO hundred and thirty-two per cent within thirteen years! This is the rate of increase in the number of millionaires in this country. A single private fortune approaches two billion dollars. We have ten corporations with assets of a billion dollars each. Two concerns produce two-thirds of all the automobiles made. A single company operates a chain of 17,000 stores and does a total business of 700 million dollars annually. One individual is a member of the board of directors of 148 different corporations. The resources of our national banks exceed 26 billion dollars. One bank has more than 100 branches. A group of 20,000 directors control corporations which produce more than half the manufactured goods of the United States.

Only the blindest of the blind can fail to see the social peril inherent in vast aggregations of irresponsible wealth. All except the most reactionary recognize the need of safeguarding the public from the excesses of powerful financiers and industrialists. Numerous laws on the statute books bear testimony to this need. How far shall society go in limiting the economic power of its members? An intelligent answer can only be determined in the light of the relevant facts. Just how far have we already gone in the direction of consolidation? What is the nature and extent of the power wielded by great financiers and industrialists? Should we encourage or discourage concentration of economic power? How can we secure a more democratic control of the resources and privileges of life?

IN this issue we have gathered together a group of articles, treating various aspects of these questions. There is one conspicuous omission. We had arranged for an article setting forth the social advantages of consolidated control of industry, but unfortunately we failed to secure this article in time for publication.

Our contributors include **Ralph Borsodi**, author of *The Distribution Age* and a student of merchandising problems; **John F. Sinclair**, a Minneapolis banker and publicist; **Fremont Older**, editor of *The San Francisco Call;* **W. Jett Lauck**, Director of the Bureau of Applied Economics, Washington, and author of several books on economic problems.

Harry Emerson Fosdick, Minister of The Park Avenue Baptist Church, New York, Professor at Union Theological Seminary, and perhaps America's most popular preacher, begins our series on *Recent Gains in American Civilization*. **Richard Roberts**, a Welshman, who formerly ministered to a church in Brooklyn, now located in Toronto, author of numerous books on religion, begins a new series under the general title, *Building Tomorrow's World*. **Hubert C. Herring** is Secretary of the Commission of Social Relations of the Congregational Churches and resides in Boston. **Anna Louise Strong** is a world traveller and correspondent for American newspapers. The writer of the article on "The Teacher" prefers to remain anonymous for obvious reasons. **Fleming James** is a professor at The Berkeley Divinity School.

In this issue we are beginning a new department which we are calling *Findings*. From month to month we plan to reprint significant items, current and historic, which we run across in our reading. Our subscribers are urged to submit material from which we may make selections.

THE WORLD TOMORROW

Published monthly at 52 VANDERBILT AVENUE NEW YORK, *by* THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW is published on the first of the month. Single copies, 25 cents; $2 per year; Canada, $2.25; foreign, $2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. London representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. X. October, 1927 No. 10

Editorials

Civilization and Religion

TWO series of articles are being launched in this number. Harry Emerson Fosdick begins the series on *Recent Gains in American Civilization,* while Richard Roberts opens the series on *Vital Religion.* Succeeding contributions in the first group will consider recent gains in government, literature, international relations, business and finance, race relations, journalism, industrial relations, education, stage and screen, art, science. Each of these themes will be treated by a competent authority who is known to be highly critical of the existing state of affairs in that particular realm. The various writers will not attempt to strike a balance between gains and losses, but will concentrate their attention upon those aspects in which substantial progress is being made. At the conclusion of the twelve articles we plan to publish a critique of them by an American, a European and an Oriental. In the meantime we hope our readers will send in critical evaluations of the articles as they appear. The latter series will deal with various aspects of the contribution religion can make toward the enrichment of life.

"Ere the Community Is Burned"

"WILL the editor of THE WORLD TOMORROW say that Socialism is quite a different thing than Communism?" asks Mr. Fred R. Marvin, Editor of the *Daily Data Sheet* of The Key Men of America. He then answers his own question: "Socialism and Communism are one and the same thing so far as objectives are concerned. . . Socialism is Communism and Communism is Socialism." His authority for this statement is a quotation from Morris Hillquit. Mr. Marvin's inquiry is the outgrowth of our recent editorial on the Fort Wayne case, where two Y. W. C. A. secretaries were forced to resign because of membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The original charge against these young women was that in being members of the F. O. R. they were affiliated with a communist-controlled organization. We produced evidence that only one communist has membership on any of the governing committees of the Fellowship.

Both communism and socialism have many different meanings. The early Christians of Jerusalem were communists. "The believers all shared everything they had with one another, and sold their property and belongings, and divided the money with the rest, according to their special needs." The Bolsheviks of Russia are also communists. Yet in many fundamental respects these two groups differ as widely as the poles. Socialism likewise has different meanings. There is much truth in the statement made by a conservative some decades ago: "We are all socialists now." The government printing office is a socialistic enterprise. In this same category are the post office, the Panama Canal, government shipping, public schools, public parks, and a thousand other public undertakings.

Communists believe in state operation of post offices and in public schools; most capitalists do also: therefore, capitalists are communists. If this is valid reasoning then it is easy to prove that communism and socialism are identical. Every group on earth has much in common with every other group. Socialism and communism are agreed on many points, just as communism and capitalism have much in common. If by a communist is meant a person who is a member of the Communist Party or in sympathy with its objectives and tactics, and a socialist is a person who is a member of the Socialist Party, or in sympathy with its objectives and tactics, then it is utterly false to say that a socialist and a communist are the same. As a matter of fact, *communists are debarred from membership in the socialist parties of the United States, England, Germany, and many other countries.* Morris Hillquit, Ramsay MacDonald, and other socialist leaders are hated and anathematized by Moscow as bitterly as are Calvin Coolidge and Stanley Baldwin. Most of the leaders of the old party in Russia which most nearly corresponds with the socialist party of this country are in jail or in exile. There is undying enmity between the Third (Communist) International and the Second (So-

cialist) International. The reasons for this hostility are apparent when one examines the platform of the Communist Party. Three of its main planks are, (1) the violent overthrow of capitalism, (2) the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) propaganda on behalf of a violent world revolution. Socialist parties reject all three and rely upon change by parliamentary and other peaceful methods.

To the contention that communism and socialism are alike because both are opposed to the present capitalist system, we would simply point out that so is the religion of Jesus. But this does not make the latter identical with communism. For centuries Christians have been praying, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth." Each time we pray this prayer we are praying that the capitalist system may be changed, for it is beyond question that when the Kingdom of God comes on earth, it will not resemble the present economic order, with all its greed, cruelty, strife, and warfare. It is one thing to seek to modify the existing social system by peaceful means and quite a different thing to advocate the use of violence.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is not a socialist organization. Some of its members are socialists but the majority are not. The F. O. R. is committed to Jesus' way of life and consequently is seeking to change those aspects of the present social order which are in violation of his spirit and teaching. The chief characteristic of the Fellowship is its devotion to the principle of overcoming evil with good and its utter repudiation of violence, both in international and in industrial relations.

Yet it is of the Fellowship of Reconciliation Mr. Marvin is speaking when he says: "Sound, loyal American citizens see in this movement something that must be scotched ere the community is burned."

It may be well to remember that this same Mr. Marvin once wrote eloquently in defense of Mr. E. L. Doheny, of Tea Pot Dome fame. In *The New York Commercial,* November 26, 1926, Mr. Marvin said: "But in Washington the very reputation of a patriotic citizen is at stake. The record of the man is as clean as a hound's tooth. He is the victim of a gigantic international conspiracy carried on in the United States through the aid of many who do not understand what they are doing. Emotion produced by the cry of the Pacifist has dulled our senses to national loyalty. They have fallen for the vicious propaganda of the Internationalists—or, shall we call them, Socialists and Communists? If legal or diplomatic red tape prevents the true facts being brought out in Washington, if the agents of foreign governments are stronger than our own, if a man who has devoted a fortune to aiding the nation is to suffer, then indeed is the situation serious." The situation was serious indeed, so much so that the nine radicals on the bench of the United States Supreme Court by a unanimous decision convicted Fall and Doheny of "conspiracy, corruption, and fraud."

Who Pays the Bills?

PERIODICALS of this character accumulate heavy operating deficits. Our earnings amount to less than our expenditures because of a circulation relatively small in comparison to the popular magazines, the low subscription price, the small amount of advertising that can be secured, and the low advertising rates. The overhead expenditures, including salaries, rent and office expenses, are unavoidably heavy. Printing and mailing costs eat up more than half the amount we receive from the subscribers. A publication of this sort cannot be self sustaining until its paid circulation exceeds thirty thousand copies.

Who pays the bills? During the past twelve months a total of 811 WORLD TOMORROW cooperators have made contributions toward our operating expenses. These gifts varied in amount from $1.00 to a maximum of $5,000. The ten persons who gave $1,000 or more are all active members of Christian Churches and are especially interested in the cause of international peace and social justice. In spite of widely prevalent rumors to the contrary, we did not receive a cent from the Garland Fund; for although it did contribute at one time to the paper under an earlier regime, it had even then refused to contribute further. So far as we know none of our gifts come from communists. Indeed, it is wholly improbable that communists, who advocate the use of violence in the social struggle, would aid a journal which is consistently opposed to violence in all realms of life. Perhaps it should be said again that THE WORLD TOMORROW is an independent publication and is not the organ of any society or movement.

Rah! Rah! Rah!

"AND now, having spent some years in *real life* you are about to enter school." Something like that, reversing the commencement speaker, ought to be said as the schools throughout the country open once again. What with football and the other sports, the b. f.'s and g. f.'s, military drill, the frats and their bull sessions, the initiation of the freshies, "town and gown riots," the never ending hops, the checks from daddy to cover the racket—*real life* stays rather in the background. (It may be, of course, that college life is really *the* life and that a similar system ought to be devised for all others, including editors. If so, our commencement speaker is wrong—an intolerable thought.) Of course, there are classes. But only too often even they are unreal for the few who care. We watch hope-

fully Meiklejohn's experiments at Wisconsin, the labor schools with their strong sense for reality, and all efforts to make American education vital. College's open! Rah! Rah! Rah!

Rebellion at Geneva

THERE is legitimate ground for encouragement in the sturdy attitude of the smaller countries in the League Council and Assembly toward the great powers, before whom they have hitherto never been so outspoken. Representatives of Poland, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Lithuania, and other small nations have soundly denounced their colleagues from the larger nations for the latter's stubborn retention of huge armaments, for their secret understandings, for their failure to express their professed repudiation of war in deeds as well as in fine phrases. Britain, in particular, was made to see in just what regard her present Tory Government is held by those who have taken the Covenant to mean what it says and who are not to be placated by words alone.

The Polish proposal for the outlawry of war was no sieve-like document. It read in part:

1. Any recourse to war in order to settle international disputes is and remains forbidden.
2. Every dispute of whatsoever nature arising between states or nations cannot be settled except by pacific means.

A diluted version, hastily concocted by the expert technicians of the big powers, was found to be unacceptable to Poland or her small-nation cohorts. And though nothing tangible has thus far emerged, the great powers have been definitely placed upon the defensive.

Perhaps the severest criticism which can be levelled at the moment against them is that they themselves do not take the responsibilities of the League with sufficient seriousness, that they do not hesitate to step outside of League procedure when matters are involved which they deem of vital interest to themselves; that they even exhibit discomfiture when the smaller nations assert their prerogatives of free discussion. This charge does not come merely from habitual critics of the League. It lay behind the resignation of Senator Henri de Jouvenel from the French delegation to the Assembly and partly behind the retirement of Viscount Cecil from the British Cabinet and delegation. So long as the great states of the League Council use the League processes when these are advantageous to their immediate designs, but resort to the old methods of private, secret discussion and balance of power when they fancy their interests are better served that way, they are doing about the best possible thing to nullify the values in the international organization.

It becomes increasingly clear that in any association of governments, the outcome will be about as highly idealistic as the governments themselves. Consequently, however the League's prestige may suffer, all other projects, such, for example, as outlawry, must suffer likewise; for these, too, will be obliged to depend for success on the character of the governments represented.

The service of the small nations in the League is more than that of criticism, though their pleas for outlawry must be considered against the background of the fact that it is largely in their interest to preserve the status quo. But their prodding, in itself, has a great deal of value. If ideals are thwarted, it is something to have the issue clarified as to where the responsibility reposes.

What Happens at the Hague

A GREAT many things connected with world peace have happened at The Hague, most of them good. Long has this city been the center for peace gatherings, and it is now the home of the two international courts —the Hague Tribunal and the Permanent Court for International Justice. And that is why, perhaps, it seems a little more than ordinarily ironic that in this international peace center, 24 war resisters, for refusal to perform military service, are in prison. Two others have just been released after a long period of confinement in "solitary." It would not be strange if someone should drop into the vernacular and ask the government in Holland—or for that matter, other governments which work for peace through The Hague, yet imprison conscientious objectors at home—"Whaddaya mean, world peace?"

Our Genial Judiciary

NOT all judges in our courts are hard, not all are political opportunists, not all are frivolous in their conception of justice—despite the multitude of cases which have cast reproach upon the bench. But far too many are blessed with an erratic desire for horse play. A judge in New York declares that he can tell guilty persons in advance from their physiognomy. Another celebrates his birthday by suspension of sentences. Another advises a cruelly-treated wife to sock her husband hard if he refuses to behave. Still another lightens a sentence because the man convicted had "a very nice jaw" and was "a man of great determination," thus able to reform. Other judges almost daily recommend severity, or lenience, or the whipping post, or a bread and water diet, or spanking —in fact, almost anything but the scientific diagnosis of criminal tendencies, and scientifically humane methods of regeneration. Small wonder that men like Dean Roscoe Pound are increasingly outspoken in their criticism of American jurisprudence.

Recent Gains in Religion*

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

I.

THE widest imaginable diversity of judgment must be expected in the discussion of such questions as are involved in our subject. Scientists may reach a fair consensus of opinion as to the gains, losses, present estate, and prospects of science, but no such unanimity can be approached in a realm like art. The question whether art is progressing or degenerating is so much a matter of like and dislike, prejudice and predilection, tradition and esthetic theory, that the opinions of any one man must be taken with a whole salt shaker and even then qualified in view of his personal bias. Religion in this regard, as in others, is much nearer akin to art than to science, and to say whether religion is advancing or retrogressing and in what particulars its gains and losses consist should be a tentative and modest expression of personal opinion. The Catholic and the Protestant, the fundamentalist and the modernist, the premillennialist and the social reformer, the authoritarian and the experimentalist, the theist and the humanist will not see the same facts with the same eyes.

On only one point would they all be likely to agree: religion in the United States is in a badly muddled state and will have a difficult time getting out.

Intellectually religion has faced a rapid accession of new knowledge issuing in a new world-view utterly diverse from the outlook on the universe implied in the Bible and the classic creeds. The new astronomy, the reign of natural law, evolution, the new physics, chemistry, psychology—how rapidly the scene has shifted until the world-view today is one which would have been unimaginable to any Biblical writer or to any classic council of the church! One often wonders what would have happened had the Protestant Reformation been postponed until after the modern scientific movement was under way so that the new religion could have phrased itself naturally in terms of the new world-outlook. In that case, we might have been spared part of our problem. What actually happened, however, was that Copernicus was an incredible "astrologer" to Luther; the Westminster Confession, latest of the classic creeds, was written before Newton broached the law of gravitation; and in general, historical Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, has been set in terms of a world-view now outmoded and unbelievable. The resulting demand for adjustment and restatement has plunged Western Christianity into intellectual turmoil.

ETHICALLY the rapidly changing situation induced by the mobile movements of Western civilization has fairly run the church's authoritative codes off their feet. Authoritative codes are cut to fit a stable society, but when society swiftly grows,—especially if it grows hunchbacked and bandy-legged,—the task of recutting the conventions is disconcerting. Something like that has happened in our Western world. Science has handed us not only new ideas to digest but new powers to handle, and in an unprecedented economic civilization with family problems, international problems, racial problems which our old codes obviously do not fit, questions about what is right and what is wrong rise in bewildering array. Religion, in consequence, is ethically confused. It speaks no united and convincing word. Even on matters like the family—obviously in desperate straits in the United States—where religion's most intimate ethical concerns center, it fumbles for its message, and to its people, wanting seriously to know what is right under these puzzling conditions, it commonly substitutes the gusto of special pleading for intelligent leadership.

Institutionally the estate of Western Christianity is a disgrace. Most Christians, Catholic and Protestant, conservative and liberal, would in one tone of voice or another admit that. There are plenty of historical reasons for our sectarian divisions but contemporary reasons or even excuses are difficult to find. The various Protestant denominations—over a hundred and fifty of them in the United States—are for the most part specializing in irrelevant details utterly remote from this generation's real interests. The result is that, while modern life in every other realm is rapidly changing its organization with a view to meeting contemporary problems, religion remains organized around shibboleths as outworn as Guelph and Ghibelline and symbols of loyalty as antiquated as the roses of Lancaster and York.

Let this brief summary suffice to represent religion's multiplied difficulties in many diverse realms. Intellectually chaotic, ethically confused, organizationally antiquated—such is the appearance of religion to many folks today.

To endeavor, therefore, a statement of religion's gains may be not simply encouraging, but useful contribution to the balanced truth about a very complicated situation. Certainly the whole story of Western Christianity is not exhibited in a narrative of its losses, difficulties, and failures. To one, at least, who intimately and constantly lives inside the problem the

*This is the first article of the series *Recent Gains in American Civilization.* *Copyrighted by* THE WORLD TOMORROW. Reprinting limited to 300 words.

rophetic, promising elements in the situation outveigh those factors which the defeatist emphasizes.

II.

FOR one thing, the readjustments of religion's thought to the modern world-view are going on t a much more rapid rate than the casual observer, especially if he is an outsider, commonly suspects. What he takes as typical of the churches is the fulminaions of militant fundamentalists, the sustained preense that the clergy are custodians of magical sacraments, the surrender of state legislatures to the foes of evolution, the medieval theological deliverances of ecclesiastical conventions as of the Baptists in 1922 and the Presbyterians in 1923, the pronouncements of organizations like the Supreme Kingdom and the Ku Klux Klan, the anti-social attitude of the premillennialists, and even the assertions of Voliva of Zion City telling the world over the radio that the earth is flat. Such crass ignorance in the churches as these and similar factors indicate is not to be minimized. It is present, it is sometimes prevalent, and it is always serious. Moreover, it is interesting and its exhibitions make news for the papers. But such factors are not the determinative elements; the future is not theirs.

One indication of this is the collapse of the late controversy between fundamentalists and modernists. It was obviously a rear-guard action. It largely concerned matters which were not even interesting to modern intelligence and which had really been settled long ago. Its immediate occasion was the correct apprehension on the part of the conservatives that liberalism was gaining and must be ejected from the churches if the status quo was to be maintained. As a matter of fact, liberalism has not been ejected from the churches. It never was more sure of its standing ground within them than it is now.

I am under no illusion as to the present situation. The era of comparative good feeling which now follows the unpleasant days of battle does not represent anything that can be remotely construed as the victory of progressive ideas and policies. It means simply that after a convulsive endeavor to drive the liberals from the churches the liberals still remain. They are supported by too strong and too growing a body of opinion to be dislodged. Where ejection has taken place or disgusted individuals have decided no longer to break their heads against some denominational stone wall, the creative religious spirit of the time has already prepared for them other agencies of service such as community churches, where they continue, often with increased happiness and usefulness, to serve their cause. For the most part, however, within rather than without the traditional churches the movement goes on which, valuing as much as ever our fathers did the spiritual experiences that lie at the heart of Christianity, is rethinking and restating them in terms congenial with the modern mind.

This movement goes deeper, reaches farther, spreads more rapidly than most folk imagine. One reads with astonishment, for example, the pronouncements of the societies for the advancement of atheism, in which they vehemently deny the existence of a kind of God in whom multitudes of loyal churchmen long since ceased believing. Many similar assailants of religion pride themselves on modernity, but are obviously unaware of what has been going on in the thinking of Christian scholars and Christian ministers, to say nothing of Christian laymen, in the last quarter of a century. Each new generation that comes up in the churches tends to make more sure and rapid this change from the medieval world-view to the modern universe as the matrix for religious thought. In part consciously and deliberately, in part involuntary and unwittingly, this shift proceeds. The mythological elements of historic Christianity are often not so much attacked as forgotten; like fairy stories they are crowded to the fringe of the church's consciousness by things that vitally matter. Less and less is it possible to believe in a bifurcated universe where a supernatural realm overlays a natural realm and occasionally erupts into it. To be sure, this radical change from trafficking with the miraculous and supernatural to spiritualizing the interpretation and use of the natural is difficult. The same sentiments, conservatisms, ignorances, and prejudices which bind popular thinking to narrow nationalism long after internationalism has become the prime necessity of civilization also binds religious thought to its accustomed trellises. But in one case, as in the other, the future belongs to the new and larger view.

III.

A SECOND gain, companion to the first, is to be found in the fact that the nature of religion has grown more clear and its discrimination from accessory entanglements have been made more possible by our modern knowledge. In the light of present information all such prophecies of religion's demise as old disbelievers once indulged in are obviously nonsense. Never was it more clear that religion is ineradicably rooted in human nature. Reduce it even to its simplest terms and it still means devotion to those concrete spiritual values, goodness, truth, beauty, love, which the human soul recognizes as suprapersonal and in consecration to which life finds its true meaning. To serve these values is to live a religious life, and to believe that these values reveal the creative reality, God, behind and in the universe is religion's central faith. Sciences may come and go but religion so rooted will persist as long as the race does. It may appear in

Protean forms but it is as indestructible as earth, air, fire, or water. That has grown more plain, not less, as psychology has probed deeper into the secrets of the spirit. There is no excuse now for identifying religion's future with the fortunes of its artificial adhesions—opinions, cults, rubrics, and institutions.

Because this is true, a great deal of the world's best religion exists outside religious organizations and often does not call itself religious at all. Only a narrow ecclesiastical mind will find that fact disconcerting. It is rather something to rejoice over and count upon. It is because religion, even when it is unrecognized as such, is so indispensable a function of human life at its best that the churches have any chance at all. No wise minister thinks of himself as set to inoculate men with religion. He knows that men are religious; that a completely irreligious man, if such exists, is an insane anomaly; that human life is meaningless animal existence except as it serves spiritual values; and that the human mind will never permanently consent to think that spiritual values are a fortuitous accident born of atoms going it blind in a godless universe. He knows that when he does his work well he is working with and not against the deepest streams of human nature.

Such freedom from the obsession that any creed, cult, church or canon law constitutes religion, such humanizing of the religious experience, is a great gain. Religion so conceived is too vital to be exhaustively represented by any mental or institutional formulation. Religion creates such expressions and discards them as men wear clothes and cast them off. Religion is an indispensable way of life and it would persist though every historic form of it which we have known were quite outgrown.

This fact grows increasingly clear and to any one interested in religion it should be encouraging and liberating. It leads not to irreverence toward past expressions of the spirit but to just appreciation of them, and it prophesies a future for the religious life beyond any dreams that static and conventional conceptions ever made possible.

IV.

THE gains of organized religion are much more difficult to see. There is evident reason for the common habit of speaking respectfully about religion and disrespectfully about its institutions. In general one cannot read the opinions of objective and unprejudiced minds or listen to the conversation of the intelligent without perceiving a serious belief, sometimes apprehensive, sometimes content and satisfied, that organized religion is losing ground.

Nevertheless, all the facts are by no means on one side. Contrary to a prevalent idea, Protestant church membership in the United States in the ten years between 1915 and 1925 increased slightly more rapidly than did the population. The truth is that when all criticisms are acknowledged, the churches, for all their mistakes, futilities, and failures, are functioning with so much usefulness that, in a time when ever fewer people go to church from a sense of duty, they continue to thrive and grow. Ministrations to personal character, saving influences thrown around the family and the children, encouragement to faith in God and the spiritual meaning of life, without which existence grows tawdry and sordid—these and other indispensable services they do actually render to multitudes so that in watching the spectacle one's impression is not so much disheartenment as wonder. If these belated split, and often obscurantist spiritual agencies can so persist and function, what could be done with really effective churches! When all has been said that can be said against the churches, it is noticeable that apparently nobody wishes to live in a community without one.

Moreover, if it be true that there is nothing on earth so powerful as an idea whose hour is come, the end of some of the worst features in the present churches will surely arrive. The ideal of a united church of Christ has flashed on the minds of men and it cannot be unflashed. Some leaders work toward this goal in overhead ways, convening ecumenical conferences to discuss the problems of unity; some work toward it through practical cooperation, as in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, or in organizations like the Christian Associations, where special sectarian affiliations are forgotten; some build community churches comprehending all sorts of old alignments within their fellowship, or take denominational congregations, dissolve their exclusive features, and make them inclusive communions welcoming Christians without regard to creed, sect, or ritual.

This movement toward inclusive churches is on, and nothing can stop it. It will gather momentum as it proceeds. In view of the futility of overstocked towns with poverty-stricken, struggling churches disgraced, to start with, by the pettiness of the reasons behind their separation, it seems likely that practical support will increasingly drift to comprehensive communions and that belated forms of denominational organization will gradually be starved out.

So far from being discouraged, therefore, one who sees what is afoot is confident that great days are ahead. The issue will not be settled simply by idealists following the vision of Christian unity. In part it will be forced by lack of practical support for antiquated forms of organization which reduplicate each other and by their very existence sin against the whole code of efficiency that is America's Bushido. It may seem caustic but it is true: one of the great gains of the churches today is the certainty that so many of them will perish from inanition.

This conspiracy of ideals luring from before and pressure compelling from behind is the hope of the situation. It is at work everywhere in the churches. Long ago, for example, wise missionary leaders became aware that the whole theory and program of foreign missions needed to be restudied and reformed. Now, however, it not only ought to be done but must be. China has forced the issue. When ideals pull and compelling circumstances push, at least some movement is fairly well assured.

With all the difficulties clearly in mind, however, the prospect is exciting. What the churches need most is leaders. Says one student of affairs: "At no time in Christian history has the leadership in matters of religion been more ignorant than it is today in Protestant America." A mitigating element is the fact that the same writer makes a similar charge against the present leadership in journalism, and others are equally severe on education. The truth is that the genius of our generation is scientific, mechanical, inventive, so that in the twentieth century the best brains are being drained into that channel as in the thirteenth they were drained into Franciscan saintliness, Dominican learning, or Renaissance art. Such a situation is not permanent but it is serious. Religion and education, art and literature, all suffer. Personally, I expect the moral necessities of the situation to cause an inevitable reaction which will mean a revival of spiritual life, a renaissance of religion, and a new access of leadership from among the best brains and the best characters of the nation. Were that to come, the achievement of a single decade might remake the churches.

V.

A FINAL gain is indicated by the fact that no organization, not even the churches, can permanently keep live people excited about dead issues. Every one with his eyes open knows that tremendous problems face our civilization and, in spite of the familiar misuse of religion as a means of retreat from real difficulties into fantasy or as a defense mechanism to make things seem all right when they are all wrong, the fact is unescapably pressed home on increasing numbers of people that unless religion functions as a practical savior in human affairs mankind must slough it off along with other useless encumbrances.

This necessity of testing religion by its ethical consequence has been emphasized by the Christian social movement associated with the slogan "Back to Jesus." It is easy to caricature that movement. In unintelligent hands it undoubtedly has resulted in distorted pictures of Jesus which have made him, not a true citizen of the first century, as he was, but a modernist of the twentieth century, which he was not, and it has sometimes found not so much what Jesus actually did teach as what the writer hoped he did. Nevertheless, the movement has done incalculable good. It has called the urgent attention of the church to the ethical ideals of Jesus. It has made clear the towering fact that the religion of Jesus was not primarily something to be believed, although great beliefs were associated with it, nor something primarily to be felt, although warm emotions were involved in it, but something to be done, a program of action, and a way of life. This insight has involved a disturbed conscience on the part of all who have achieved it. For neither in personal habits, economic practices, nor international relationships are we living by Jesus' method nor are we often even trying to or conceiving it possible.

In spite of the perverse and wicked subsitution of petty questions for real problems, of which the churches are commonly guilty, nothing can keep the Christian mind and conscience from turning ever more urgently to these really important centers of attention. Two tremendous questions face modern Christianity: faith in God, which is the only theological problem now worth much discussing, and the application of Jesus' principles to personal and social life, on which the continuance of Christianity crucially depends.

IT is a promising gain to discover where the real questions are. I do not see how any one can read what intelligent Christians now are writing or know what unwritten things they anxiously are thinking without seeing that Canute could more easily have stayed the sea than obscurantism can keep the Christian mind and conscience of today and tomorrow from facing its great problems. Personally, I think it probable in consequence that the twentieth century, before it is through, will see a renaissance of spiritual life in general and of religion in particular, accompanied both by constructive social reformation and by a synthetic philosophy which will gather up the mass of new mental materials into a coherent whole and give life once more a unified interpretation and meaning. At any rate, I am confident that the alternative to that is the collapse of Western civilization.

RELIGION is too deep and elusive to have its gains and losses catalogued. Religion is mysticism—being strengthened with power through God's Spirit in the inward man; it is ethics—the wrestling of man's ideal with man's actual; it is metaphysics—the assurance that not dirt but personality is the final interpreter of the Eternal. Any one endeavoring to say whether religion waxes or wanes may well end with an ancient and wise comment on the ways of the Spirit: "The wind bloweth where it will, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth."

Building Tomorrow's World

Beyond the Four Walls

NOT long ago, I met a young medical man who was then on the point of abandoning the practice of medicine and of entering the Christian ministry. He had had an academic course of unusual distinction; everything in the way of honors and rewards that could come within the orbit of a London medical student seems to have fallen to him. For some time after his graduation, he was associated with a great London consulting physician of world-wide fame; and the testimony of this eminent man is that whatever of wealth, of fame, of social distinction is possible to a physician is the younger man's for the taking. But the younger man is not taking it. At the present moment, he is engaged in mission work in a small town of colliers and ironworkers in South Wales.

Now, the remarkable thing is that our young doctor has made this change in his life largely as the direct result of his experience in medical practice. The consulting physician with whom he was associated asked him one day to analyse his case-cards. He did so, and found that no less than seventy-three per cent. of the patients whose history the cards recorded *had nothing organic the matter with them.* I gathered that he expected to find the proportion of such cases high; but the actual percentage startled him. He thereupon made enquiry among other consulting physicians and found a consensus that between two-thirds and three-quarters of the people who brought their ailments to them had no organic trouble. And the physician with whom he was working had written on many of these cards the significant verdict, "*Does not know how to live.*"

And so he has gone to his colliers and ironworkers to do for them the one thing which they, like all men supremely need, to do what medicine cannot, what culture cannot, what no social order however splendid can, what no education such as we know can,—to bring them to God. That at least is how it looks to him; and for the present, we shall leave him there.

How about that seventy-three per cent? Are we to say that they are *malades imaginaires?* Not at all. There is real malady here; and the fact that it seems to lie beyond the competence of orthodox medicine has brought into being the virtually new science and practice of psychiatry,—not to speak of a multitude that no man can number of unorthodox therapies and quack techniques. The seventy-three per cent are sick in the mind; and the spread of Christian Science seems to spring directly from the circumstance that it offers to "minister to a mind diseased" and frequently does so with astonishing success. The real tragedy of our time is a plague of decomposing personality; and that in its turn springs from our failure to "know how to live." We are missing the point of life; and our lives are falling to pieces.

The evidence is obvious and abundant. The frenzied pleasure-seeking, the silly and pointless crazes to which we give time and energy, the feverish scramble for riches, the inanities of the beauty parlor, the chaos of marriage, the failure of the home—here we have the symptoms of human failure and social break-down on a large scale. We try to fill our lives with all manner of unfilling things, and we are left empty and bored. We seek relief from boredom in this way and that, only to find ourselves more bored than ever. Then our boredom gets (as we say) on our nerves; and our jangled nerves disturb our physical balance. We develop ailments and go to the doctor. In three cases out of four, the doctor tells us he can do nothing for us, that there is nothing really the matter with us, and that we must try to pull ourselves together. And when we have left his office, he sums us up in his books,—"Doesn't know how to live."

WHAT then is the matter with us? My answer is that we are suffering from suppressed religion. Rupert Brooke once wrote a poem about fish in which he parodies the religious aspirations of mankind.

> "Fish say, they have their Stream and Pond,
> But is there anything Beyond?
> This life cannot be All, they swear . . .,"

the argument being that it is as preposterous that a man should hope for a destiny beyond these scenes as it would be for a fish to aspire to any reality

beyond its pond. But unfortunately for Brooke's argument, the very thing he scouts seems to have happened. Once on a time, inconceivably long ago, a marine animal did venture out of its pond on to the dry land and became the ancestor of all land animals. Every living man to this day bears in his body the marks of his marine origin. When one ponders the moving picture of life as biology shows it to us, it is difficult to escape the sense that the whole process of evolution has been an increasing effort on the part of life to push out into the unknown.

But is the adventure at an end? Is *homo sapiens*, as we know him, not only the latest but also the last of his line? Is there no unknown into which he too in his turn can aspire to enter? William James in one of his letters remarks that the position of man in the universe is very much like that of a dog in a drawing room. The dog has his own world of sights and sounds and smells, but the people in the drawing room have another world of ideas, ideals, and values into which the dog cannot enter. But may there not be a world of reality around us as high above our world as our world is above the dog's? To all types of naturalism and materialism the notion is of course anathema. But for the present, we may ignore the curse; or at least we may console ourselves that now the advanced physicists are sharing it with us. Eddington, at least, is telling us that the writ of physical science applies only to the measureable, ponderable aspects of reality; but that there is much more of Reality than is amenable to our pointer–measurements. The world of "quality" as distinct from "quantity," of "values" as distinct from "perceived facts"—this too is an essential element in Ultimate Reality. Beyond the world of "matter" and the "machine," is the world of "mind. . . ." The World we see is not all the World there is.

Moreover there are certain aspects of human life itself which seem to indicate that Life has not come to the end of its tether. To be sure, it seems to be agreed among the biologists with whose work I am acquainted that man's physical evolution cannot proceed much further apart from some subordinate modifications. Man's continued evolution must therefore be of what we may broadly call a spiritual sort. In any case, life seems unable to stay put. It seems to be engaged in one way or other in trying to outstrip itself. It was, I think, Professor John Erskine who said that table manners are a set of devices by which we try to hide the fact that a number of animals are feeding together. This is only a humorous way of putting an important truth,—that human nature at its best tries to grow beyond itself. We form ideals; but an ideal is only thought pushing out beyond the present fact. Some of us compose poetry; but a poem, what is it but a mortal man trying his wings, trying to rise from the particular to the universal? Our philosophies are so many efforts to reconcile the many in the one, to discover the One, the Idea, the Absolute. And when the Greek mind reached its definition of Ultimate Values—Goodness, Truth and Beauty,—what had it done but name the attributes of the final home of the soul? From the world of things to the world of ideas, from the world of ideas to the world of ideals and values, there you have the earthly pilgrimage of that —whatever you call it—which makes a man a man.

But it can't stop there; and all the signs are that man has not arrived, is still on the way. But at the moment, he seems to be "stalled." Dr. L. P. Jacks tells how, looking down out of a Detroit hotel window upon the street beneath, he observed that every automobile in it was going somewhere but that the whole mass of them seemed to be going nowhere. The street itself did not change its aspect. In that he found a parable of our life,—always on the move, but in an everlasting circle; always busy, but achieving nothing that gives rest to the soul,—a vast spectacle of restless frustration. We are hag-ridden by a concealed, unidentified destiny. We can indeed drug this ache asleep; and we do. We have multiplied a hundred brands of dope,—golf, bridge, dancing, movies, the social whirligig, drink, drugs, and so through the whole dismal catalogue. And when we have had our fill today, tomorrow will find us at it again, trying to drown this nagging that comes back the moment we are alone and quiet. Walt Whitman sang in his *Song of Myself*—

> I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained;
> I stand and look at them, long and long.
> They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
> They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
> They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God. . . .

No doubt it is a quiet life back in the meadows; because the animals have reached an equilibrium with their world. They have found their level. But Walt Whitman had not, his very restlessness betrays him; his very poetry tells us his trouble. Walt Whitman could write a poem about a cow; but never a cow could write a poem about Walt Whitman. And that men, unlike the cattle, do sweat and whine about their condition simply means that they have *not* reached their level. They have not come to terms with their world; and without some surrender of their manhood, they cannot come to terms with this world of sense and things.

IT has been the mark of our generation that it has capitulated to the notion that there is no future for man beyond the four walls of space and time. It has ceased to believe in and to care about that transliminal

country in which human destiny still lies concealed; and it has largely given up the attempt to find a way into it. Even the poets have surrendered. They are caged birds.

An English critic has moreover furnished us with the explanation. He blames science; and he thinks that science may eventually destroy poetry altogether. No doubt, science is partly to blame; for a long time it has been presenting us with the picture of a world which denies and leaves no room for the magical view of it which artists have commonly accepted. The scientific "world" makes no emotional appeal; things are what they are; and there is an end of it. It is a view that leaves us with "a sense of desolation and uncertainty, of futility, of the baselessness of aspirations, of the vanity of endeavor." "So let us eat, drink and be merry; for tomorrow we die." But our critic comes the day after the fair. He hasn't heard the news.

For already science is beginning to sing a different tune. I have already alluded to the view of Professor Eddington; and he is by no means alone. Professor Whitehead, mathematician and physicist, is now telling us not that the poet must learn from the scientist but that the scientist must learn from the poet. "Instead of the poet having to realize that his intuitions are illusory and belong to a childish *demodé* view of the world, it is the scientific man who must realize that his abstractions are too thin and narrow to be any longer useful and that the poet makes closer contact with reality:* I cannot stay here to discuss this matter in detail; it is enough to point out that "naturalism" and "materialism" and all "this-worldly" constructions of Reality can no longer confidently look for scientific sanction. It is not the poet and the mystic who have a conflict with science today; it is rather the sceptic and the materialist. Besides, in the realm of biology, Lloyd Morgan's philosophy of "emergents" is being generally accepted today as the most adequate construction of the facts of life as biology has revealed them. The picture he offers us is of life itself first of all as an "emergent" out of matter, and then life bringing forth successive "emergents"—of which the two critical moments are those in which first *"mind,"* and then *"spirit"* emerge. . . . Evidently neither the leading physicists nor the leading biologists of our time believe that we are living in a closed, bottled-up world. The scientific answer to Rupert Brooke's mocking question "Is there anything beyond?" is, "Yes, there is."

Now religion is simply man's effort to win into this Beyond. It is the distinction of Religion that it conceives that the final end of life lies beyond the frontiers of this world of perceived fact. It is the sense of a concealed destiny. It is our concern with the Unknown. I am not now alluding specifically to immortality and the future life, though that is clearly involved; what religion is concerned in achieving is "eternal life," a new quality and dimension of life attainable in the "here-and-now"; and this is what I believe Lloyd Morgan means by the emergent "spirit."

It should of course be pointed out that at the present stage the "awareness" of "eternal life," the conscious attainment of "spirit" is not a constant and unflickering experience. It is on the contrary more or less occasional and fitful. There is a piece of the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the Province of Quebec which runs in and out of the United States; and the religious experience is something like that. It is a sense of belonging to two worlds at the same time and living on and about the border line. But what is to the point just here is that this long varied effort and search that we call Religion is actually the thrust of Life itself pushing out into the Unknown Beyond, believing that there are still more worlds to conquer and going on to possess them. Religion is not an alien or exotic thing imposed on life from without; it is organic to life and its roots go back to the beginnings of life. Man's religious impulse is the oldest and the most important thing about him. Life has always been trying to force open the doors of the unknown; and in man it is still doing it. Religion is the urge and stress of life, carrying on. It is the answer of human nature to the pull of the unknown. It is the specific thing that makes a man a man; and the man who is not religious is something less than a whole man.

I have suggested that what I have called "a plague of decomposing personality" is due to suppressed religion. This generation is going to pieces because of its refusal and its neglect to carry on the torch. It professes to believe in evolution; but refuses to believe in any evolution for itself. Life has lost *direction,* and in consequence is disintegrating. Whatever else religion may or may not do, it does at least propound a direction and consequently works for the integration and unification of personality. The one immediate end of life is the achievement of spiritual and ethical personality; and the way to it is the practice of religion. But the practice of religion is another story into which I cannot now enter. I was bidden to write on "Religion and Life;" I have tried to show that and why life without religion is under sentence of death.

RICHARD ROBERTS

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* I quote this passage from Mr. J. W. N. Sullivan's excellent little essay *Gallio* in the Today and Tomorrow Series. Those who wish to follow up this matter are referred to *Science, Religion and Reality* a volume of essays by English scientific men, including Eddington; to Whitehead's *Science in the Modern World* and *Religion in the Making;* to J. W. N. Sullivan, *Aspects of Science.* The views of Lloyd Morgan are to be found in his two volumes, *Emergent Evolution* and *Life, Mind and Spirit.* A useful summary of Lloyd Morgan many be found in Canon Raven's recent volume *The Creator Spirit.*

Not in the Headlines

AGNES A. SHARP

The Pledge Movement to Stop War

Eight students of the Meadville Theological School, Chicago, created and signed the following: "We, the undersigned theological students, being finally convinced by the failure of the Geneva Conference that the effort to abolish the crime of war between nations by means of parleys between naval and military experts, representing the various governments, is utterly futile, hereby declare ourselves to be opposed to all wars of whatever nature, and hereby pledge ourselves, solemnly and sincerely, to take no part whatsoever in any future wars no matter what their real or ostensible purpose or motive may be."

An Effort Toward Understanding

School children on both sides of the international boundary took part in competitive games in connection with the celebration of child health day recently at Calexico, California. For this occasion the Mexican guests were given free passage through the United States customs and immigration barriers. A joint committee of American teachers in the Imperial Valley of California and Mexican teachers in Lower California organized the program in the interest of international good will and to promote interscholastic activities. The participation by American teachers in the observance in Mexicali, Mexico, of the birthday of Benito Juarez, and the visit of Mexican teachers to a California town on February 22, to honor the memory of George Washington preceded the children's event.

Military Training in High Schools

The following high schools, alphabetically arranged, in which junior units of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps are established, have maintained especially high standards of military training and soldierly discipline and are announced as the "honor high schools" for the academic year 1927. Abraham Lincoln High School, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Albert G. Lane Technical High School, Chicago, Illinois; Arsenal Technical High School, Indianapolis, Indiana; Central High School, Chattanooga, Tennessee; Central High School, Kansas City, Missouri; Eastern High School, Detroit, Michigan; Fulton County High School, Atlanta, Georgia; Galileo High School, San Francisco, California; Gloucester High School, Gloucester, Massachusetts; High School Department, St. Thomas Military Academy, St. Paul, Minnesota; Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, California; Joplin High School, Joplin, Missouri; Lake View High School, Chicago, Illinois; Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, California; Louisville Male High School, Louisville, Kentucky; Nicholas Senn High School, Chicago, Illinois; Ogden High School, Ogden, Utah; Phillips High School, Birmingham, Alabama; Rockford High School, Rockford, Illinois; Senior City High School, Knoxville, Tennessee; Technical High School, Oakland, California; The Dallas High Schools, Dallas, Texas; Walla Walla High School, Walla Walla, Washington; Waukegan Township High School, Waukegan, Illinois; West High School, Salt Lake City, Utah.

One Million Fascisti is Official Report

The regularly inscribed Black Shirt forces are said to total 1,000,052 men, 75,087 women, 19,039 misses, 126,137 girls and 8,854 university students. The number of youths and boys is not announced.

Latin-Americans Campaigning Against Illiteracy

Many of the Latin-American republics report the carrying on of campaigns against illiteracy. The President of Honduras has recently authorized country-wide vacation classes, to be taught by students of secondary and professional schools, as well as by pupils in upper grades of elementary schools. In Guatemala City, Guatemala, an institue for the reduction of illiteracy has been incorporated. In Colombia an annual prize is given to the director of the primary school who has taught the largest number of adult illiterates, and other prizes are offered to pupils who have taught other persons to read and write, it was said.

African Labor Leader Touring the U. S.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a national union of over 7,000 pullman porters and maids, is bringing to the United States as its guest, Mr. Clements Kadalie, National Secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa and Editor of the Workers' Herald, Johannesburg, South Africa. During the months of September, October and November he will tour the United States under the auspices of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. He will lecture on the present status of the natives in South Africa and adjacent colonies.

A British Plane Base in Hong Kong

The American Consul at Hong Kong reports the beginning of work on a seaplane base in China in connection with the new Empire air routes. A contract recently made for dredging operations in the harbor is the first step in the linking of Hong Kong with Empire air routes reported planned by the Air Ministry of Great Britain. The dredging operations are a part of the plans to complete the sea wall and build a typhoon shelter and basin for seaplanes. Proposed plans include construction of a large civil aerodrome in Hong Kong which is to link up with the proposed English and Australian service via Singapore and act as a center for routes to China, Japan and the Philippines.

Patience and a Friendly Readiness to Cooperate

The work of the American Committee for Fair Play in China continues to broaden, both in scope and diversity of service. Since June, 1925, they have arranged over fifty lectures, distributed 30,000 copies of the six bulletins published, and supplied special material for theses and college debates. Correspondence now includes 21 countries. It is generally admitted that the moderate policy of the United States during the tense days last April, and the refusal to cooperate in an ultimatum against the Nationalist Government, were the result of active and widely expressed public opinion against such action. In view of increasing political complications in China, patience and a friendly readiness to cooperate on the part of western peoples, are needed more than ever. *To create and maintain this attitude is both possible and of the utmost importance.*

POWER

The Trend Toward Consolidation

RALPH BORSODI

PITTSBURGH used to have twelve daily newspapers—a recent consolidation has reduced the number to five. The transactions which culminated in this consolidation involved an investment of over $15,000,000 by three newspaper chains. Pittsburgh simply furnishes a typical example of what is transpiring in one city after another throughout the country. The public of Chicago, Detroit, New York, as well as innumerable smaller cities, now reads a smaller number of newspapers. According to *Editor and Publisher,* the past six months have seen a decrease in the number of English-language dailies in the United States from 2001 to 1952. This does not indicate by any means the full extent of the trend toward consolidation because it does not take into account the extent to which ownership of individual newspapers is being concentrated by "chains" such as those owned by Hearst, Block, and Scripps-Howard.

* * *

A "General Motors" of the radio industry is now in process of formation. The United States Electric Corporation was recently formed for the purpose of acquiring the right to manufacture radio receivers and apparatus under the patents held by the Radio Corporation of America and allied companies, the Hazeltine Corporation, the Latour Corporation, and the Technidyne Corporation. Under the overlordship, which the possession of its patent rights gives to this new corporation, a steady consolidation of the manufacturers in the radio industry is progressing.

* * *

Fifteen years ago there were two hundred manufacturers of automobiles competing for business. Today there are only about fifty, and not more than a bare dozen of these are expected to survive independently. Two of the survivors—Ford Motors and General Motors—produce together two-thirds of all the automobiles made. Consolidation is not merely reducing the number of individual manufacturers by gathering factories together under one ownership, but it is making it extremely difficult for the smaller independent manufacturers to survive. The independent is "up against" not a mere consolidation of automobile manufacturers in General Motors, but a consolidation of manufacturers of nearly all the elements—bodies, batteries, ignition, wheels, carburetors, etc., etc.—which enter into the completed product.

At the last session of Congress, the McFadden Banking Bill was passed which made it possible for national banks to go into branch banking. As a result the tendency toward branch banking which already had made itself manifest under the state banking laws has now been extended to banks operated under Federal charters. While there is considerable difference of opinion as to the desirability of hyphenated citizenship, there seems to be none about hyphenated banks —Chatham-Phoenix; American Exchange-Pacific; Irving-Columbia; American-Irving; etc., etc. Mergers of banks and trust companies are so frequent that they have almost ceased to be feature news.

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Concentration in railroad control has the official approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Van Sweringen brothers started a new era of railroad consolidation with their proposed C. & O., Nickel Plate, and Erie consolidation. Loree, of the D. & L., is busy with a consolidation; so are the N. Y. Central interests, the Pennsylvania interests, and practically every one of the more ambitious railroad systems. So vast are the interests involved that it will take years to bring these plans to fruition and to secure I. C. C. approval for them. But profits of individual roads are now so promising that consolidations to make it possible to capitalize these profits are irresistible.

Why risk the possibility of having to lower rates because profits are high; of having to share profits with the government in the form of higher taxes, or worst possibility of all—of having to share them with railroad trackmen? Consolidation makes it possible to issue bonds and stocks. Fixed charges must then be met. Dividends must be earned before lower rates, more taxes, or higher wages can be paid. Meanwhile, stocks and bonds are to be bought and sold, and bankers and brokers will be able to supply a hungry investing public with what it thinks it wants.

* * *

The Federal Trade Commission recently issued a "cease and desist" order against Famous Players-Lasky, one of the consolidations in the movie industry. The movie industry is a particularly interesting example of the way in which concentration of control has developed in an industry apparently ideally adapted to small scale operation. Beginning with production, then passing to distribution, and finally entering the field of

exhibition, concentration has developed until the industry as a whole has passed into the hands of a very small number of groups which have complete control. Concentration in the ownership of theatres has had the indirect effect of well-nigh extinguishing the legitimate drama in all but the largest cities of the country, not because there is no demand for spoken drama, but because the movie magnates have purchased and converted or destroyed the theatres formerly devoted to it.

* * *

The day of concentration in the steel industry has by no means passed. It has extended from the basic producers to the fabricators of steel. Negotiations to combine the Republic Iron and Steel Company and the Trumbull Steel Company are in progress, as are similar negotiations by the American Rolling Mill Company, the Columbia Steel Company, and the Forged Steel Wheel Company. The new combine will make a million more tons of finished products annually. The negotiations between the Bucyrus Company and the Erie Steam Shovel Company resulted in a consolidation in that industry. Steel divides its energy between consolidation and production. The newspapers are full of negotiations which look to a reduction in the number of independent steel units.

* * *

Some time ago the Chicago Elevator Properties, Inc., were formed, which by means of a consolidation will control 46 per cent of the grain storage capacity of Chicago, a very large proportion of the total terminal storage capacity of the entire country. This corporation will be under the management of the Rosenbaum Grain Corporation, which is itself a consolidation of elevators. This latest consolidation is merely symptomatic of what is going on in the field of grain distribution generally, with independently owned grain elevators gradually disappearing and grain assembly and distribution being concentrated in the hands of centrally operated chains.

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Perhaps the most interesting trend has been the tendency toward the concentration and consolidation of business units engaged in distribution. The ramification of the chain store idea is amazing. A single chain—the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company—now possesses 17,000 stores doing a business of $700,000,000 a year. Four thousand additional stores were added by this chain in the past year, and eighty stores are being added every week. It is expected that within two years they will number 25,000 stores doing a business of a billion dollars per year. This is a grocery chain. The J. C. Penny chain is a general store and small department store chain. It consists of 825 department stores and is expected to pass the $200,000,000 mark in sales per year very soon. The United Cigar Stores Company and Schulte are the two big chains in the cigar and tobacco field.

Many of the chain store organizations represent consolidations of smaller chains, as for instance the American Stores Company, which consists of a consolidation of five chains, the smallest of which operates 122 stores, while the largest operates 433. The consolidated company operates 1223 stores. The growth of chains in the five and-ten-cent store field of which the F. W. Woolworth Company is, of course, the most notable instance, is well known, but there is hardly a single field of distribution in which this technique of consolidation is not now employed. There are chain restaurants operated by Childs, and by Thompson; there are candy chains such as those of the Happiness Company and Loft. Chains in the big department store field are already here with the May Stores Company a conspicious pioneer. Sears Roebuck and Mongomery Ward have joined the procession with a chain of department stores.

* * *

"THE air of the financial district these days is vibrant with merger rumors," says a financial writer in the New York *World,* and it is the interest of the financial district in consolidations which gives the clue to the significance of the present trend toward the concentration of industrial control.

Control of business is being concentrated, not to enable the businesses consolidated to make more money, but to make it possible to issue securities at a time when the demand for stocks and bonds exceeds the supply. A plethora of capital—most of it consisting of bank credits created by an excessive supply of gold—makes it easy to sell stocks and bonds based upon consolidations.

When money is easy, when vast sums are seeking investment, and when speculation dominates public psychology, an acceleration in the trend toward concentration is as certain as the procession of the seasons.

The financial writer previously quoted makes the acknowledgment that the industrial concentration of the 90's and of the early part of the century showed that large scale production and operation of itself was not necessarily economical. Concentration has often lessened net profit from actual manufacturing or trading. In practice, the theoretical savings to be made possible by large buying are seldom really made. The theoretical lowering of costs through mass production frequently fails of realization. The theoretical economies in large scale marketing in actual practice often turn into higher costs of selling and advertising. Above all, the burden of fixed charges to cover large scale financing, makes a nightmare difference between the theoretical balance sheet of a consolidation and the actual balance sheet produced by the auditors. There are good grounds for suspecting that all this talk about

the economies of mass production and mass selling may be just talk. It helps to sell securities in big corporations, and misleads economists who have never taken courses in accounting. A course in the reading of financial statements of big corporations is a good method of jarring one's complacency about the economies which the concentration of business in big units is supposed to make possible.

Efficiency in manufacturing, trading, and management always makes itself apparent in terms of net profits. The percentage of net profit is nearly always a barometer of efficiency. Theoretically, the larger the scale of operations the larger the net profit produced. Actually, unless based upon some form of monopoly, the largest net profits are not always earned by the largest units.

But when money is easy, percentages of net profit are not important. It is aggregate profits that count. A corporation manufacturing $10,000 worth of "gadgets" a year, even though it makes 50 per cent on sales, is not suitable for financing à la mode, but ten competitive manufacturers of "gadgets," doing in the aggregate $10,000,000 a year, are suitable for financing even if, as a whole, they earn only five per cent on sales. Five per cent of $10,000,000 is $500,000. Five hundred thousand dollars of profits available for dividends would support a securities issue of at least five million dollars. The $5,000 available for profits in the case of the corporation producing $10,000 worth of "gadgets" cannot pay dividends on an issue of stocks or bonds big enough to make it worth while for the investment banker to deal with the proposition.

Even if the total number of units engaged in production, distribution, or transportation were not decreased by the tendency toward concentration, because of new ones which entered into operations to take the place of those eliminated, the trend toward consolidation still profoundly affects our economy. When larger proportions of the total volume of business are concentrated in the hands of limited numbers of big business burdened with heavy fixed charges—efficiency in buying, in production, and in marketing does not yield profits in such volume as does the acquisition of special privileges of various kinds. Concentration of industrial control has developed a technique which limits competition by means of patents, tariffs, trademarks, licenses, franchises, trade associations. This technique includes such legal and extra-legal devices as statistical "institutes," industrial "czars," co-operative national advertising, etc.

The final result? The investing public, which furnishes the market for the new securities accompanying concentration, receives a thin stream of the total profits made possible by forcing the ultimate consumer to pay more than he should for what he buys.

City of Wind

YOU ask, "Who is it you kiss when you kiss that way?"
You ask, "Where have your lips flown now?" And I dissembling,
Protest. And what would you say if I should say,
"To a city of wind, a city of towers trembling?"

I thought I should tell how I wooed you for her sake
Since she would not listen, but how could you understand—
You to whom love is a voice, a footstep, a hand—
What do you know of love that is only an ache?

What do you know of love that is only a want
At night in the wind, when even the buildings blow
And cry in their joists, and people are blown aslant
With fences and trees and the dumb drift of snow?

How can you understand that whatever I thirst for
It is nothing but shadows I am seeking,
Remembering a city at dusk and the wind speaking,
Remembering it was a dream that I longed first for?

And would you believe it is to a city of wind blowing
My heart must go home at last, a lover and child,
To lose its pain in her heart wholly, knowing
It is a heart of wind, hollow and wild?

—George H. Dillon.

The Ways of Death

DEATH goes like a cunning beast to the east side,
Softly treads, softly takes, no asking,
And softly, softly parts.

Death goes like a beggar to the west side,
It goes there with the hunger of an army of beggars,
Yet scarcely given enough for one,
And given with grudge, with scorn.

Though death binds his sheafs
Bigger and faster in the east side,
Yet no one knows of it,
Except maybe a neighbor or two:
One the priest, one the gravedigger.

But whatever death takes from the west side,
Half the city hears it,
Newspapers write about it,
Friends are notified, who tell their friends,
And they all come and stone death with flowers.

—Leon Srabian Herald

The Banker and Industry

JOHN F. SINCLAIR

THE day of individual business seems nearly over. Small partnerships, too, are fast becoming just a memory of the days of long ago. As early as 1904, seven out of ten wage earners in the United States were working for corporations. Today more than nine out of ten have corporations as employer. The individual business man and the partnership arrangement seem destined to travel the way of the horse since the advent of the automobile.

The corporation idea lends itself readily to the American type of mind, because it very largely eliminates individual responsibility and allows for a continuity of business life not enjoyed by a natural being.

But there is a more significant reason for its amazing growth and hold on American life and business: the corporation as such has been given by Supreme Court interpretation a much stronger legal position than even an individual possesses.

Ex-President Arthur T. Hadley of Yale, in writing about the effect of two important decisions by the Supreme Court, said that "the two together have had the effect of placing the modern industrial corporation in an almost impregnable constitutional position."

And so the evolution of business proceeds. First the individual, then a union of two or more individuals into a partnership. Next the union of two or more partnerships into a corporation. Then the joining of two or more corporations into a holding company. Again the combining of several holding companies into a super-holding company to hold the control and thereby direct the policy of many holding corporations. And the end is not yet!

In 1910, while still Governor of New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson, in an address before the American Bar Association, declared:

> "And these huge industrial organizations, we continue to treat as legal persons, as individuals which we must not think of as consisting of persons, within which we despair of enabling the law to pick out anybody in paricular to put either its restraints or its commands upon. . . . Society cannot afford to have individuals wield the power of thousands without personal responsibility."

WHEN we come to the problem of banking we find banks are roughly divided into two classes—investment and commercial. In other words, into those which deal in long-time paper and those who deal in short-time paper.

More than fifty thousand investment bankers, located in every part of the United States, are daily advising people which investment to select. On the other hand, there are in the United States today more than twenty-seven thousand banks, organized under the laws of the national and state governments, dealing in commercial loans and credits. These two classes of banks are not always kept separate and distinct. Commercial banks often purchase large volumes of long-time investments. Likewise many investment bankers are directors of large commercial banks. The several partners of the investment banking house of J. P. Morgan & Co. are on the Boards of Directors of nearly every large bank in New York City.

In the field of commercial banking there are at present two outstanding characteristics—the tendency toward more and more bank consolidations, especially in the larger centers, and the beginning of the branch system of banking, also seen in the great cities.

The McFadden National Bank Act—passed at the last session of Congress—granted for the first time the privilege to national banks to establish branches within the corporate limits of any city in any state which permits state banks to have branches. The law does for the time being prohibit any extension of the branch system beyond the cities. Many bankers, however, believe that the establishment of a limited branch banking system is just the entering wedge of a universal branch system which will finally result in the formation of a few national banks, just as in England and in Canada, with branches reaching from Maine to California and from Minnesota to Texas.

Already the state of California permits state-wide banking under its laws. As a result, one bank—the Bank of Italy—has 100 branches scattered throughout the state. Other state banks in California are following suit and there has been a wild scramble to pick up local individual banks everywhere. Several of the great cities—New York, Cleveland and Detroit, for example—are now far along in the process of establishing branches of great banks within their city limits. Many competent observers believe this tendency will continue to develop until, for example, a few banks in New York will control the credit structure of that city completely and absolutely. What develops in New York will doubtless follow in other cities.

IT is in the investment banking field that the banker in industry has shown his greatest activity. In his book, *My Life and Work,* Mr. Henry Ford discusses

very frankly his reaction to the banker in industry. He says:

> "Old time business went on the doctrine that prices should always be kept up to the highest point at which people will buy. Modern business takes the opposite view. Bankers can rarely appreciate this fact. They confuse inertia with stability. It is perfectly beyond their comprehension that the price should ever voluntarily be reduced.
>
> "If at any time it became a question between lowering wages or abolishing dividends, I would abolish dividends. * * * Boring, not borrowing, is what most businesses need. Bankers play far too great a part in the conduct of industry. There has been a great reaching out by bankers in the last fifteen years, and especially since the war, and the Federal Reserve System for a time put into their hands an almost limitless supply of credit. The banker is by training and because of his position totally unsuited to the conduct of industry. In a word, the banker is in industry primarily to make money, while the business man is in industry primarily to make goods."

Perhaps we can illustrate what Mr. Ford has in mind. One of the largest investment banking houses in New York recently purchased Dodge Bros. Inc., a private business, for $146,000,000. Within a month they had sold to the public bonds, preferred stock and class A common stock for $160,000,000. A neat profit of about $14,000,000! But that is not the whole story. These bankers kept as part of their profits 500,000 shares of no-par Class B stock, and this stock had all the voting power. Professor William Z. Ripley of Harvard, in speaking of this transaction, said:

> "The promoters (Bankers) have virtually paid themselves a handsome profit for the assumption of the entire directorial power, having mortgaged the property to the full amount of its original cost through outstanding bonds and preferred stock, including both assets and capitalized earning power."

Making money instead of making automobiles you see! Hundreds of other cases illustrating this point could be shown if space permitted.

Today the unsuspecting investor is buying out, usually under some such plan as suggested above, "mail order, chain and department stores, food stuff manufacturers, the makers of washing machines, refrigerators, confectionery, make-believe silk stockings, toilet and beauty preparations, phonograph records, piano and radio outfits, theatres, our daily bread, our ice cream, root beer, cake, and even our home-made pies." Nearly all of these have been taken over under some form of control by investment banker management. In the vast majority of cases the public has supplied all the money to consummate the sale and has given a handsome profit to the bankers for putting it over, but the voting power, carrying directional policy, has been, in a vast majority of cases, deliberately alienated from those who supplied all the money, and is concentrated in the money-making hands of a few investment bankers.

THIS money-making of investment bankers in industry is evident in recent years, particularly in the field of public utilities.

Example No. 1. Southern Gas and Power Corporation sold the public $2,000,000 in notes, $5,000,000 preferred stock and 250,000 shares Class A stock. But away in a strong box were kept for its own use 100,000 shares no-par common stock, *which carried exclusive voting power.*

Example No. 2. The Associated Gas and Electric Company supplies electricity, gas and water to over 300,000 consumers, serving over 2,000,000 people in more than 900 communities located in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the city of Manila. It has sold to the public $36,600,000 bonds, 500,000 non-voting Class A stock. But the 300,000 Class B no-par shares, *carrying exclusive voting power and as such the control of this vast organization,* was not offered for sale.

Under such a policy a little money goes a long ways. Usually the public supplies the money and the promoters do the rest.

Let us give another example to show how hard it is for the average man on the street to know what is going on at this time. A little electric plant in a small town in Arkansas sells out to the Arkansas Light and Power Company, which is owned by the Southern Light and Power Company of Delaware which also controls the Mississippi Power and Light Company, The Louisiana Power Company and the Louisiana Power and Light Company. And the controlling interest in all these in turn is owned by the Southern Power and Light Company, this time incorporated in Maryland, which in turn is controlled by the Electric Bond and Share Company, which in turn is part of the great General Electric Company. Let some clear-headed Philadelphia lawyer figure out for the little stockholder in the little Arkansas town to whom he belongs! Surely in this field of public utilities many of the investment bankers have become dealers in thin equities.

Of the $1,500,000,000 of publicly held securities of the twelve major holding companies serving electric light, power, gas and water in the United States in 1925, the equity common stocks in which are vested complete control, amount to only ten per cent of that stupendous total. "Ten per cent ownership," says Professor Ripley, "most of which cost the present owners not a penny, carries control of the entire remaining nine-tenths of the participation. This is indeed a long

stride away from the age-old Anglo-Saxon practice of the right of the majority to rule."

It must not be inferred that all bankers are engaged in this kind of activity. Many of them are opposed to it and have spoken out openly on numerous occasions. But the tendency is so marked that it cannot pass unnoticed.

CONTROL of corporations carries with it the control of the credit policy. If a banking firm gets control of a private corporation, the bankers dictate the credit policy. It is for this reason that many large organizations have been taken over by the bankers.

An excellent illustration of this is steel. The steel business as an industry in America is less than sixty years old. It was Andrew Carnegie who introduced the Bessemer steel process in 1868. By 1898 America had reached the front rank in steel production nearly equaling that of Great Britain and Germany combined. Thirty years after the Bessemer process had been introduced into the United States the House of Morgan organized the Federal Steel Company. There followed the tube mills combination with eighty million dollars capital, twenty millions of which went to the Morgan Company for organizing it. Combinations now came thick and fast in structural steel works, tin plate, sheet steel, hoop mills. And in 1901 the United States Steel Corporation was formed with a capital of $1,402,000,000. In other words, the United States Steel Corporation, a super-holding company, was created to hold the control of two hundred and twenty-eight companies, located in 127 cities and towns and scattered over eighteen states. All these huge companies came under one management. These enormous figures are interesting, but they are not the most important element in the situation. Thereafter—and this is extremely significant in any discussion of the banker in industry—the financing of each of these two hundred and twenty-eight corporations (in addition to the scores of others since added, had to be done through or with the consent of the investment banking house handling the original deal.

Despite all the disquieting elements presenting themselves in bank and credit consolidations, I believe the process now well under way will go on. The control of credit into fewer and fewer hands will continue. The bankers and large business leaders influencing and controlling more and more the forces of production, distribution and credit, are becoming in fact the real world rulers.

AMERICA, with approximately half of all the gold in the world in her strong boxes; with an income greater than that of all Europe combined; with credits outside of her borders totalling more than $25,000,000,000 cannot remain backward in world leadership, whether she wills it or not. For she has become the greatest of creditor nations, the banker of bankers among the nations of the world.

If this leadership is to be of any lasting good in world affairs, or of any permanent usefulness for herself, the self interest of small groups must give way to the larger social interest. The banker by reason of his new gigantic and amazing power, not much seen on the surface, is almost certain to supercede, or at least to control, the political leadership in formulating and driving through the plans and programs of the great nations of the future.

It is my firm conviction, based on a close study of both national and international finance for twenty years, that world reconstruction and lasting peace will finally come, when it does, not so much through the political organization of nations, as through the Will-To-Peace of the gigantic banking and business organizations, whose leaders have come to know that war is financial and economic suicide to every nation and every people engaging in it.

The challenge to American leadership—unselfish, fearless and enlightened—within the large banking and business groups, is the urgent call of the present day. That challenge I believe will not long remain unanswered. And when such leadership does take charge, a new deal in the nation's business will take place within the confines of the United States. While outside its boundaries, a new day of universal peace, prosperity and happiness will break upon an otherwise anxious and troubled world.

That, to me, is the new message of money and banking.

—Lynd Ward

The Outlook for Invisible Government

W. JETT LAUCK

WASHINGTON affords only an outward manifestation of the activities of the super-government of so-called "Big Business." Here only may be seen the working of human agencies through which democratic institutions and ideals have been subordinated to our latter day practices of trade, industry and finance.

The real sources of power and the fundamental methods of procedure are not evident. The actual government is concealed, or, as has aptly been said, is invisible. It is none the less potent, but it is not of Washington. The real seat of government is to be found in a small, inner, banking group in New York City. The residences of our Kings of Money and Lords of Finance who have taken over the control of our political and industrial affairs, are on Manhattan Island. Our self-governing republic, for the present, at least, is completely swayed by their methods and policies.

The machinery of the Government at Washington, therefore to a larger or smaller extent, depending upon changes in conditions, consists of the representatives of certain industries, corporations and special financial and business interests, working in harmony, irrespective of parties.

At the present time, as is well-known, the invisible government has reached an unprecedented fullness and completeness of power. As a consequence, to use an aviation expression, the degree of visibility of our super-government, as compared with past periods, has increased. With its growth into almost unquestioned power during the past seven years, forces and personalities which before carried on behind the scenes, have been prone to appear in full view on the national stage.

All the foregoing does not necessarily imply that there is anything deliberately sinister about the invisible government. Those who guide it, from the standpoint of personal and civic character, are, as a rule, above reproach. It is a system which has primarily developed from the concentration of control of capital and credit. The significance of the situation lies in the fact that however efficient "Big Business" may be in commercial, industrial and financial achievements, to the extent to which it is undemocratic, it must be changed.

THE continuance of the existing overwhelming power of the invisible government depends upon its efficiency. The prosperity of the country during the past four years has been due to a policy by which costs of production have been lowered, prices decreased, and wages and profits still maintained at a high level. With the exception of agriculture, practically all industries and trades have been prosperous. In the same proportion as this unprecedented prosperity has grown and lived, liberalism, idealism and humanitarianism have shriveled up and gradually disappeared. Aside from the farmer's protests against Big Business and the existing order have weakened and almost ceased.

The prosperity of the people has for the time being ruined them so far as fundamental standards and ideals of self-government are concerned. We have more automobiles, more radios, more phonographs, more telephones, more highways on which to operate more automobiles, more vacuum cleaners and electric cooking utensils, more savings accounts, more life insurance policies, more stock-dividends, more corporate reorganizations and fictitious stock, more money and credit, lower interest rates, and skyrocketing stock values. Figuratively speaking, therefore, we bow our knees and give our support to the invisible government and its manifestations. Fundamental principles of self-government, of liberalism or idealism in any of their forms are repugnant, for they jar upon the national complacency and well-being. If we are not "corrupt and contented," we are prosperous and contented, and the invisible government is practically undisturbed.

HOW long these conditions remain will depend upon the maintenance of prosperity. Prices are still falling and wages rising, but the margin of profits is growing smaller and unemployment is increasing. Despite the agitation for greater consumption, mass production seems to be exceeding the possibilities of the country absorbing the increased output. The surplus of employes rendered unnecessary in some industries does not find opportunity for employment in the old or newly created industries. The farmers are also strenuously objecting to selling in the world markets and, on the other hand, buying in markets protected by high tariffs. They wish compensating measures of protection to raise the prices of farm products or the lowering of customs duties on manufactured commodities. The large investment bankers who have loaned so extensively abroad during recent years also find that they cannot be repaid unless the tariff walls are lowered to admit foreign goods.

There are evidences, therefore, that the present "Big Business" ship of state is approaching troubled waters. The agricultural interests are already aroused to determined protests. The growing unemployment of labor points to industrial unrest. At the same time,

it is manifest that some of the powerful agencies of the invisible government—the tariff-nurtured industrialists and the investment bankers—are at loggerheads. According to the way these tendencies work out will the continued dominance of the invisible government of "Big Business" be determined.

THE way out of our present financial and industrial autocracy, however widespread the accompanying prosperity may be, is fundamentally dependent upon the awakening of the people to a higher sense of the need for individual political activity and responsibility. This, in turn, must be accompanied by needed reforms in our primary systems for nominating and electing candidates for office and in the methods employed by political parties in selecting delegates to national conventions. In the broad field of political activities, also, finance and industry must be made to serve the people in a just and reasonable way through popularly controlled machinery. This means, of course, a general program for the eradication of all monopoly and other special privileges and favors which have been improperly obtained by "Big Business" through government control.

Such a general program, however, does not really strike at the foundations of the invisible government. The remedy lies deeper. It is to be found in the proper regulation of the private or so-called investment bankers, or, ultimately of the small inner group of New York bankers, in which the ultimate control of capital and credit has been concentrated, and which, during the early years of the first Wilson Administration and the Pujo inquiries, was dragged forth from its hiding place and popularly designated as "The Money Trust."

Ordinary commercial banking has already, to a large extent, been democratized by the establishment in 1919 of the Federal Reserve banking system. Prior to this constructive legislation, which has tended to decentralize banking and credit control, it was much easier for the invisible government to exercise its sway, as idle funds flowed to New York and the control of credit was much easier to secure and maintain. A few years later the exploitation of the farmers was minimized by the creation of the Farm Loan Board, the Federal Land Banks, and the Intermediate or short-term agricultural credit system. The further problem now remains of democratizing the so-called investment and private bankers, the seat of the invisible government, and thus emancipate our political life and institutions as well as trade and industry itself from their dependence on those who now control capital and credit.

A very significant step, and one which points the way to general reform, has already been taken in this direction by the provisions of the Transportation Act of 1920, which require the railroads to submit all proposals for new security issues, or plans for consolidation or reorganization of their properties, to the Interstate Commerce Commission for its approval. Under this law, the Commission has refused to sanction the large Nickel Plate Merger, as well as others of smaller scope, because of the character of their financial structures. It has also ruled that short-term securities, such as equipment trust notes, must be offered at public bidding and sold at the best prices obtainable, and it is predicted that a similar requirement will soon be imposed on the flotation of long-term securities.

THE importance of this legislation when its application is thoroughly worked out, can scarcely be overestimated. The indications are that the precedents established in the control and administration of railroad securities and finances will be extended to all forms of industrial and commercial undertakings engaged in interstate commerce. Professor Ripley's recent recommendation that corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be required to submit reports to the Federal Trade Commission has met with widespread commendation. The transition from this proposal to that of the federal regulation of security issues and to all aspects of the financing of such corporations is but a short step. The way is open and the indications are that in time a Federal Securities Commission will be created. Many individual States already have such agencies, especially in the domain of public utilities.

With the establishment of federal control of security issues as well as of the financial methods of interstate corporations, the unrestricted practices of so-called investment bankers will come to an end. Not only will excessive underwriting commissions disappear, together with the flotation of fictitious securities, but the accounts and operations of the investment and private bankers will be disclosed to public scrutiny. Their affiliations and their community of interest will become known and corrected. It will be impossible for these bankers, by acting as fiscal agents, to dictate the labor and public policies of corporations, either directly or indirectly to contribute to political campaigns or candidates, or to engage in improper political activities. The invisible government of so-called "Big Business" will be brought forth, in other words, into the blazing light of publicity and intelligent regulation. This will mean the passing of the invisible government, or, what is the same thing, the proper adjustment of "Big Business" to democratic institutions and ideals.

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Money and Public Opinion

FREMONT OLDER

IN this crowded world it would be foolish to deny that money has influence on public opinion. The weather, hot or cold, affects public opinion. Floods and earthquakes affect it. Influenza and crop failures shift current thought about. And I do not see how wealth, as well, can be prevented from exerting a steady and powerful influence on the ideas men hold true.

Usually, however, men tend to believe it is not the money in their own pockets, but the millions in the vaults of very rich men that are so strong a force for good or evil. And since it is the other fellow's money, they prefer to think it harmful rather than beneficial. According to this assumption, ambitious and ruthless men use their wealth as a crowbar to divert public opinion along their own private tracks. Public opinion buys a ticket for Washington and hopes to get there, but wicked men pull the switch in the night, and when the righteous citizen wakes up at eight o'clock in the morning he finds his train on a spur track of Wall Street. Rich villains have done him wrong.

I think there is an error imbedded in this idea of how public opinion is formed. There are no villains in my theory, but merely human beings who, with very rare exceptions, derive their ideas from the same source as their income.

READERS who disagree with the opinions expressed by a newspaper, and who think it conflicts with their own economic interests, sometimes say it has "sold out," has been "purchased" by powerful interests opposed to their own.

At one time in my life I worked on a newspaper that was on the payroll of a corporation for $125 a month, but it made very little money and had little influence as long as the subsidy continued. It is the only instance I know, in a fairly long newspaper experience, of a newspaper that received money directly in return for printed opinion. Rich men frequently enough buy or establish newspapers as mouthpieces for their opinions, just as political parties used to subsidize or reward newspapers of their political faith. Many people still remember when Republican newspapers made demigods in print of all Republican politicians and horse-thieves of all Democrats—and Democratic papers retorted in kind. But those were the days when readers of newspapers were as fiercely partisan as their party organs.

The rich men who try to drive public opinion up strange alleys sooner or later tire of losing their money and sell out at a loss to experienced newspapermen who know more about the nature of the profession. Which means that they know more about the people who read newspapers or are more instinctively in accord with their readers.

When I was the editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin,* the owner was bitterly opposed to my ideas of social reform. But I was violently and fanatically interested in the reform movements that led to the San Francisco graft prosecution, and for a time was able to convince him by the evidence of the balance sheet that he could make more money by letting me have my own way. So, for many years San Francisco had a newspaper that was far from representing the opinions of its owner. It was profitable for the owner to forego the expression in his newspaper of his own ideas, but I think it was the only newspaper in the United States on which that peculiar and untenable situation existed.

I left the *Bulletin* and became editor of The San Francisco *Call,* which is owned by Mr. Hearst, and I have found him quite in sympathy with most of the policies that caused me to have almost daily battles with the owner of the *Bulletin.*

RADICALS frequently accuse conservative newspapers of insincerity, but when they do so their passions get the better of their judgment. The conservative is not reckless, he is not daring; he stands without being hitched, but he believes that his opinions are right. He does not need to be bribed into praising Mr. Coolidge, admiring rich men, attacking Bolshevism, or deploring the parole law and the "coddling of criminals"; for he believes most earnestly that in these policies are the cardinal points of his country's safety. He hires conservative men on his staff and he does not need to hammer them into line. They, like himself, stand without being hitched. The chances are 100 to 1 that they get out, without any internal resistance, the kind of newspaper he wishes and which pleases readers who are also conservative.

If such an editor suddenly changed his opinions and decided to attack Mr. Coolidge, praise Russia, belabor the rich, and cry for humane treatment of criminals, he would have difficulty in swinging that same staff into line with him. He would be compelled to watch them day and night, vigilantly, to prevent them from backtracking or sabotaging his policies. Finally, he might be forced to acquire a new staff of his new opinion, and would also have to acquire new readers.

Public opinion is shifting and intangible, but it must rise out of social and economic conditions that affect men and women. Newspapers fix and develop and

emphasize this opinion, but they are rarely its originators. When Lindbergh flew across the Atlantic there was as much enthusiasm in newspaper local rooms as there was on the streets. Newspaper men, part of the public, merely made articulate the public enthusiasm for that feat. They did not "make" Lindbergh the figure he became. When Dempsey knocked out Sharkey, the average newspaperman was as interested as any other American citizen. The good newspaperman "rises" to a news story before it is printed, just as the public "rises" after the paper gets on the streets.

The average newspaperman has the same hopes, impulses, ambitions, as other American citizens. He, as much as they, is immersed in the American scene. He wants his family, his radio, his automobile, his independence, his security, his ease of mind, just as any man does. When some other American citizen piles up a fortune of $500,000,000 he admires that man, considers him a genius, defers to his public utterances, as do the majority of other Americans. Of course, there are extraordinary dynamic individuals in the newspaper profession as in every other, who are unlike their fellows, differ sharply from the average, and lead their readers vigorously, but, in general, newspapers reflect their public, and if any money has power over the press it is the money in the pockets of the newspaper readers.

I FIND it difficult to believe that external wealth or influence has more direct influence over moving pictures, the radio, and educational institutions than it has over the press.

It has been frequently charged that officials in radio stations turn off the power on radical critics and deprive them of the use of the air in the midst of speeches they are making. These things happen, of course, just as unpopular orators on street-corners sometimes get bricks thrown at them, and it is a pity that they do happen, for the managers of radio stations ought to know that a radical speech can have small effect unless the people who are listening in their own homes are ready for that speech and eager to agree.

But it is possible a manager knows that if he allows the speaker to continue he will receive several hundred letters the next day from angry householders, asking him what he MEANT by allowing such a dangerous individual to broadcast from that station. The owners of the station may also suggest to him that he made a bad mistake and must not repeat it. It is more likely that, being an average citizen, his blood pressure goes up fifty points while he is listening to the speech, and he cuts the radical out of the air instinctively, righteously, heroically, without being aware of anything but his own individual feelings.

It costs a great deal of money to build and support a radio broadcasting station, and men who have the money to pay for such a station are likely to have the opinions that go with the possession of wealth. And, though there is a good deal of talk about the Radio Trust, it is unnecessary to think of the Radio Corporation as a huge machine for controlling, distorting, and checking the free expression of opinion. It must, after all and first of all, be a money-making organization in which everything else is secondary to the payment of dividends.

THE motion pictures are also charged with being the slaves of a devil who does not wish the people to receive the unpalatable, necessary truth.

But a tremendous amount of money is invested in the making and distribution of motion pictures—in studios, in actors, actresses, writers, staffs, and theatres—and the kind of motion pictures we are likely to get is determined by the box offices scattered through the United States.

The gentlemen who make the pictures have been experimenting for thirty years in producing a "standard product" that will please the greatest number of theatre goers. It has become a business, as everything of its dimensions and investments must become a business —and the product of that business is now shaped to the people who pay their money at box-offices. Occasionally the owners of such an industry may indulge a directing genius or a persistent actor or their own fancy and create a film that is out of the ordinary run. Sometimes such a picture hits the public need and fancy—as a new, cheap automobile, or the motion pictures themselves have hit that fancy—but the risk is too great. Large organizations shiver when they take such risks and do not like to do so. You can hardly blame them; the average man does not like risks, either.

It must be true that the man with a striking idea or a radical preachment has difficulty in getting a hearing in the motion picture studios, but the man with a striking invention will also have difficulty in finding a man who is willing to invest from $50,000 to $150,000 in his untried idea. Men with that much money are often timid. If they amassed that amount by daring they are very likely to lose their daring after they get the money.

Some years ago a producer bought the rights of *"Peter Pan"* from Sir James M. Barrie, and made a fine motion picture with Betty Bronson as the star. It was praised by the critics, and in the larger cities it was popular and made money—but it was extremely unpopular in the small cities. Country exhibitors complained that their patrons did not like fairy stories, did not understand "this English humor," and did not want any more of that sort of thing. Country theatres, apparently, are the backbone of the motion picture profits, and the motion picture men stopped investing their money in Barrie's humor.

It may truthfully be charged against the motion

pictures that they make relatively few attempts to satisfy audiences of all shades of opinion and culture, but they may reply that the cause is in the box-office.

MANY fine men and women mourn over our educational institutions and say money has too much influence on our schools. They say, and I think they say rightly, that education at least should be rid of its influence and that our young people should be left free to form their own opinions on the basis of as many facts as their teachers can place before them. They wish instructors, professors, presidents, chancellors, regents, and trustees to be removed from economic and social prejudices.

I wish this ideal could be realized some day, but I do not see how it can be fully attained until we get out of the primitive stage. Animals do not train their young to be different from themselves. Cats train their kittens to catch mice, not to think for themselves, and the average parent does not wish his son to think for himself but to think as he does, to have his ideals and to be the kind of successful man he has been. If the world has been a disappointment to him he does not tell his son it is a place of countless opportunities for happiness; and if the world has been good to him, he does not tell his son it is a vale of tears.

Generations try to duplicate themselves; and society tries to form the young generation in its own image. Mr. Upton Sinclair in *The Goose Step* maintained exhaustively that men of wealth predominate in the governing bodies of our educational institutions, and that these men control opinion and instruction in the United States. True, but men of great wealth are important men in our aquisitive society and it is naturally the important men who are elected or appointed as trustees or regents of our universities. If poets instead of millionaires were our most influential citizens, then they would control our educational institutions.

But the domination of our universities by wealth is not simplified in the hands of a few rich men. Parents, graduates, and the general public have greater control over the institutions. The majority of students come from conservative homes; they have parents who do not wish them to be inoculated with strange ideas; when they are graduated, they themselves become conservative; the majority of graduates do not wish their Alma Mater to change in form or substance, but wish it to stay forever as it was when they went to college.

I have an idea that nineteen-twentieths of the faculty members stand without being hitched, and do not need to be starved, reminded, or browbeaten into expressing conventional opinions. They teach safe precepts because they themselves believe safety is best.

OUR society is not wholly shaped by a few rich men, it is shaped by the millions who find happiness in possessions. In this country of ours millions of men are able to achieve the independence and security that the majority of men desire for themselves and their families. These values are obtainable through the acquisition of money, and the average man uses inventions only the wealthy may possess in Europe, or which are possible only among great masses of fairly prosper-our people. They are able to buy these luxuries out of wages and salaries, and they call them the necessities of the American scale of living. This prosperity affects their opinions and shapes their lives.

We are living in an acquisitive stage of civilization, further advanced in the United States than anywhere else on earth, and I would like to believe we will pass through this stage, in which wealth is a delight, a novelty, and a plaything, into another stage dominated by different values of success and authority. For Emerson was probably right when he wrote, three-quarters of a century ago: "Every experiment by multitudes or by individuals that has a sensual and selfish aim with fail . . . As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusiveness, it will be marked by delusion . . . Only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open, and which serves all men."

When men and women acquire a different attitude toward money, we are likely to have a different kind of public opinion.

THE TEN BILLION-DOLLAR CORPORATIONS OF AMERICA

(Figures for 1926, where available, are given, otherwise for 1925)

Company	*Total Assets*	*Value of Physical Properties*	*Gross Sales or Revenues*	*Net Profit*	*Dividends Paid*	*Number of Stockholders*	*Number of Employes*	*Date Founded*
1. U. S. Steel Corporation..	$2,446,000,000	$1,692,000,000	$928,000,000	$117,000,000	$61,000,000	150,000	250,000	1901
2. Southern Pacific Railroad	2,147,000,000	1,341,000,000	297,000,000	36,000,000	23,000,000	57,000	(1) 71,000	1884
3. Pennsylvania Railroad...	1,819,000,000	1,010,000,000	710,000,000	62,000,000	30,000,000	140,000	214,000	1846
4. American Tel. & Tel. Co.	1,646,000,000	197,000,000	180,000,000	107,000,000	81,000,000	362,000	293,000	1885
5. N. Y. Central Railroad...	1,449,000,000	1,020,000,000	399,000,000	49,000,000	27,000,000	64,000	(1) 162,000	(3) 1914
6. Standard Oil of N. J.....	1,369,000,000	520,000,000	1,123,000,000	111,000,000	34,000,000	80,000	91,000	1882
7. Union Pacific Railroad...	1,140,000,000	819,000,000	205,000,000	38,000,000	26,000,000	51,000	60,000	(3) 1897
8. Atch.,Top. & Santa Fe Ry	1,071,000,000	945,000,000	259,000,000	46,000,000	22,000,000	63,000	60,000	(3) 1895
9. General Motors Corp....	915,000,000	400,000,000	(1) 1,000,000,000	(1) 180,000,000	70,000,000	51,000	83,000	1908
10. Ford Motor Company....	(1) 800,000,000	(1) 300,000,000	751,000,000	(1) 100,000,000	?	3	192,000	1903

(1) Estimated. (3) Date of present corporation, following reorganization.

"The Foundation on Which the Billion-Dollar Corporations Are Reared Is the Demand for Speed—Transportation, Communication, and Their Auxiliaries of Steel and Oil."

—*From The N. Y. Times, March 27, 1927.*

Toward Democratic Control

KIRBY PAGE

MONEY is not merely a medium of exchange. In an industrial civilization it is power, power over the lives and destinies of human beings.

Long ago society discovered that it is not safe to allow individuals or groups to wield unlimited power of any kind. Power in the hands of intelligent and benevolent persons has frequently been used for the social good. The risk of its being misused, however, is very great because of selfishness and blindness. Kings could not be depended upon to administer justice, ecclesiastics could not be trusted to deal fairly with disbelievers, slave owners could not be relied upon to safeguard the interests of the human beings in their possession. Power over other persons causes blindness. Special privileges create barriers that prevent understanding.

Power is particularly dangerous when it is of an impersonal character. Groups are almost certain to be more cruel than are individuals. This fact is of enormous significance because our modern world is becoming increasingly complex and impersonal. More and more we affect the lives of persons we never see. Increasingly we act as members of groups rather than as individuals. Industry is now impersonal to an alarming extent. And so is politics. Irresponsible power in such a world constitutes a vast social peril.

We really do not have to do anything about it. But if we don't, somebody else will. Autocracy always leads to rebellion. It is only a question of time. Financial and industrial autocracy cannot be indefinitely prolonged. Three powerful factors are operating against it: popular education, the idea of democracy, and the stimulation of new wants. For the first time in history, education is being made available to all people. The idea of democracy is spreading in spite of serious setbacks in some quarters. A billion dollars a year is being spent in advertising in the effort to stimulate new desires on the part of the rank and file. Wants are relative and insatiable.

The reigning financial oligarchy will be tolerated only as long as prosperity continues. A serious and prolonged economic depression would release titanic social forces in this country. Many economists are saying that, due to diminishing natural resources, diminishing returns from agriculture, the pressure of population, the intensity of foreign competition, and the social burden of supporting an increasingly large group who live entirely from unearned increment, it will not be possible for the United States to maintain indefinitely a standard of living so much higher than the rest of the world as is now the case.

Some economists fear that we are heading for a violent revolution in this country. Such persons point out that our great financial and industrial interests are so deeply entrenched, so arrogant and bigoted, and so irrevocably opposed to the democratization of industry and other forms of social control that they will not voluntarily give up the autocratic power which they now wield and consequently will provoke their opponents to the use of violence. While there is some reason to believe that this may be an accurate prophecy, I am convinced that such a course of events is not inevitable.

We should not delude ourselves, however, as to the difficulty of preventing a violent revolution. Violence can be avoided only if the necessary social changes are brought about peaceably. We probably have twenty-five years within which to effect the most urgently demanded reforms. How much longer than this, no one can say with certainty. The odds are against us. The defenders of things-as-are have an enormous advantage over those who advocate drastic changes. The weapons at the disposal of the former seem to make them almost invulnerable and invincible.

As one who is concerned for the creation of a social order based upon the religion of Jesus, and who is therefore unalterably opposed to the use of violence in industrial and international struggles, it seems to me that we should give earnest consideration to the following devices for bringing about a more democratic control of the resources and privileges of life.

FIRST, the extension of representative government in industry. Under the present system four different groups have a stake in a given industry: owners or investors, officers and officials, workers, and consumers of the products. The control of industry is now largely in the hands of corporation directors. This group frequently uses its power to further its own interests at the expense of the other three groups. It will continue to do so until the other groups are better organized and more alert.

How should industry be controlled? By representatives of the various groups concerned. Such representation cannot be effective until the different units are themselves organized. That the stockholders or investors frequently need protection from their own officers and directors is shown by the evidence compiled by Professor W. Z. Ripley and others. Representation in boards of control by minority stockholders is urgently required. It is highly important also that

the consumers be represented in the control of industry. As long as the consumers are unorganized, it will be difficult to secure adequate representation or even to devise ways of selecting their delegates. In the meantime some corporations are selecting public spirited citizens to act on behalf of the consumers.

The employees are likewise the victims of the present system. Organization of the workers is an indispensable part of the democratization of industry and perhaps the most important step of all. In a country where many industries are national and international in scope and where the resources of a given concern may exceed a billion dollars, independent local organizations are utterly inadequate to give workers effective representation. National trade unions are indispensable to any genuine democracy in industry.

Fortunately the need for collective action on the part of the workers is rapidly being recognized and innumerable experiments in employee's representation are being made, ranging from committees with merely advisory powers to representatives who participate fully in the determination of major policies. Mr. W. Jett Lauck has rendered a great service in gathering together the essential data concerning the most significant of these experiments in his new book, "Political and Industrial Democracy."

Ultimately, it will be necessary to adopt a constitution or code for industry. Democracy cannot function efficiently without definite agreements and adequate social machinery. Immediately after the World War there was considerable discussion of an industrial code. The National War Labor Board actually made a beginning in this direction. The idea was hailed with enthusiasm by many business men and labor leaders. The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor introduced a resolution providing for the creation of a temporary National Labor Board and a National Industrial Congress, "for the purpose of establishing permanent agencies for the adjustment of industrial disputes to supersede the National Labor Board, and for the further purpose of determining a permanent series of principles or a code, to govern future industrial relations and the adjustment of industrial disputes, and for the still further purpose of sanctioning standards of working conditions to obtain in industry." Professor J. A. Hobson and Professor J. N. Clark in two books reviewed elsewhere in this issue, have outlined plans for the extension of representative government in industry.

THE second essential step in the democratization of industry is the extension of the coöperative movement. It is not enough to have consumers represented on the boards of regular corporations. The domination of the financial oligarchy cannot be broken until the consumers' coöperative movement is greatly extended. In a coöperative society a given number of interested persons pool their resources, employ managers, salesmen, etc., sell to themselves at market rates and at the end of the year each person secures a dividend on the total amount of his purchases, in this way eliminating the profits of the middle-men. The following types of coöperatives have been most successful: grocery stores, bakeries, restaurants, dairies and milk distribution, apartment houses, credit associations.

In Europe the coöperative movement has reached stupendous proportions. The United States Department of Labor has estimated that there are 300,000 coöperative societies in 29 countries with a combined membership of 45 million persons. The annual sales of the consumers' coöperatives of 22 countries exceeds five billion dollars. The English Coöperative Wholesale Society is the largest manufacturer, trader, and landowner in the United Kingdom. The percentage of the population purchasing through coöperatives is as follows: United Kingdom, 45; Denmark, 40; Finland, 40; Hungary, 40; France, 30; Germany, 20; United States, 2.5. In spite of the fact that the United States is a laggard in coöperation, our agricultural coöperatives have a membership of more than two millions and our consumers' coöperatives more than half a million. The extension of this movement in the United States to a scale comparable with several European countries would greatly aid the process of democratizing industry.

A THIRD important step is the extension of public ownership and control. The exploitation of natural resources, the control of transportation and communications, are three of the chief sources of great fortunes. Many of our richest men owe their wealth to coal, steel, copper, oil, timber, railways, public utilities, telephones, and telegraphs. In order to gain riches for themselves, private owners have wasted untold quantities of irreplaceable natural resources. The process still goes on. The overproduction and waste of oil now constitute a national scandal. Even if it could be proved that public ownership of natural resources would lead to less efficient production, I would still favor it on the two-fold ground of avoiding the waste of private exploitation and of reducing the financial power of the great industrial groups. Perhaps it may be worth while to emphasize the fact that I am not referring to *government* operation of coal mines, water power, etc. Coal should be owned by the people of the United States and controlled by a board composed of representatives of the engineers and other technicians, the miners, and the consuming public. The technicians should be elected by the leading societies of engineers, the miners by the national unions and the representatives of the consumers appointed by the President of the United States, until such time as the consumers are adequately organized.

The jurisdiction and powers of such bodies as the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission should be greatly extended. They should be manned by persons who will take seriously the task of checking the excesses of the great corporations, rather than by individuals who are defenders of these practises as is so often the case at present. Especially stringent restrictions should be placed about the manipulation of stocks on the exchange, as the result of which colossal fortunes are often made within a few hours. Corporation directors should be prevented from using various devices by which multitudes of stockholders are denied any effective control, if not actually defrauded.

All special privileges such as high tariffs should be abolished. Many of our great fortunes are directly due to public subsidies in the form of tariffs. The resultant gains of manufacturers and certain favored groups of workers have been at the expense of the population at large.

Banking should be a public function. The control of credit is too important to leave in private hands. An abundance of evidence is available to show that if bankers are allowed to continue the practise of extending credit to an amount five or six times their assets—thus debasing the value of genuine money more than is done by counterfeiting—the great financiers will extend and consolidate their power. Real democracy is impossible until credit is controlled on behalf of the general good rather than for the enrichment of a favored few.

A FOURTH step is the extension of the minimum wage and the family wage. The principle of the minimum wage has found acceptance in most industrial countries. If the minimum wage and the family wage were universally inaugurated, poverty could be almost entirely eliminated. The minimum wage would safeguard single men and women but the family wage is needed as a supplement for married men. The evidence is incontrovertible that multitudes of unskilled workers do not receive a salary sufficient to enable them to support a family in decency and comfort. At present industry cannot stand the burden of wages high enough to pay every worker the amount needed to support a family. Since many workers are not married, however, it can provide a minimum wage for every worker and a supplement for a dependent wife and not more than three children. As worked out in several European countries, the plan is something like this: Each employer pays into a central Compensation Fund in proportion to the number of his employees or the size of his wage-bill, regardless of whether or not his workers are married or single. The sum so raised is used to provide the supplementary wages for dependents. This system has been described in some detail by Professor Paul H. Douglas in his book, *Wages and the Family*. It seems socially more desirable that the surplus profits of industry should be used in this way rather than to increase the private fortunes of employers.

A FIFTH means of breaking the power of our financial oligarchy is by taxation. Four types of taxes are now available. No constitutional changes are required. Together they place in the hands of the voters a drastic means of controlling great fortunes. They are: income tax, inheritance tax, excess profits tax, land tax. It is not generally realized that in 1918 the total Federal income tax on incomes above a million dollars amounted to 73 per cent. Even on incomes of $100,000 the total tax was 56 per cent. In 1919 the Federal inheritance tax on the largest fortunes was 25 per cent. The excess profits tax is constitutional and always available, as are also special land taxes. The increased revenues from heavier taxation would furnish the funds for a great variety of public enterprises now neglected because sufficient funds are not available. Whenever the voters decide that unlimited financial power constitutes a social peril, means are available for limiting incomes and inheritances.

THE formation of a new political party seems to be necessary if the required social changes are to be made. The Republican and Democratic parties are not divided upon vital issues, consequently there is little reality in American politics. Those groups which are seeking fundamental changes in the present social order will probably find it necessary to found a party of their own, based upon a constructive economic, international and social program. A new party cannot hope to achieve great success quickly. Several decades of preparatory educational work will doubtless be required, as has been necessary for the British Labor Party.

Conclusion: If these suggestions seem drastic to some readers, it is important to remember that the situation confronting us is an exceedingly dangerous one. Financial power begets more power. The first million is the hardest; thereafter, a fortune piles up like a snowball. The number of millionaires in this country has increased 232 per cent within thirteen years, from 4,500 to 10,450. This group is certain to increase rapidly in number and power if present practices are left unchecked. If we are willing to have industry, politics, journalism, radio, education, and religion controlled autocratically by a financial oligarchy, we can afford to drift along. But if we really believe in the values of democratic control and desire to see the privileges and responsibilities of life more equitably divided, we should realize that a titanic struggle is ahead of us.

Findings

No Time to Think

"Do you never think about these things?" once said an American Professor wearily to a girl student. She replied aptly enough: "Professor, if you had a schedule as full as mine, you would know that it allows no time to think about anything."—*Norman Angell,* The Public Mind. p. 201.

Communist Agitation

"Labour is prior to, and independent of, capital." If that remark was original with me, I should be even more strongly-denounced as a communist agitator than I shall be anyhow. It is Lincoln's. I am only quoting it.—*Theodore Roosevelt,* The New Nationalism. p. 8.

Why Industrialism Is Cruel

Science has greatly increased our power of affecting the lives of distant people, without increasing our sympathy for them. Suppose you are a shareholder in a company which manufactures cotton in Shanghai. You may be a busy man, who has merely followed financial advice in making the investment; neither Shanghai nor cotton interests you, but only your dividends. Yet you become part of the force leading to massacres of innocent people, and your dividends would disappear if little children were not forced into unnatural and dangerous toil. You do not mind, because you have never seen the children, and an abstract stimulus cannot move you. That is the fundamental reason why large-scale industrialism is so cruel, and why oppression of subject races is tolerated. An education producing sensitiveness to abstract stimuli would make such things impossible.—*Bertrand Russell,* Education and the Good Life. p. 72.

War Against the Philistines

Christ's chief war was against the Philistines. That is the war every child of light has to wage. Philistinism was the note of the age and community in which he lived. In their heavy inaccessibility to ideas, their dull respectability, their tedious orthodoxy, their worship of vulgar success, their entire preoccupation with the gross materialistic side of life, and their ridiculous estimate of themselves and their importance, the Jews of Jerusalem in Christ's day were the exact counterpart of the British Philistines of our own. Christ mocked at the "whited sepulchre" of respectability, and fixed that phrase for ever. He treated worldly success as a thing absolutely to be despised. He saw nothing in it at all. He looked on wealth as an encumbrance to a man. He would not hear of life being sacrificed to any system of thought or morals. He pointed out that forms and ceremonies were made for man, not man for forms and ceremonies. He took sabbatarianism as a type of the things that should be set at nought. The cold philanthropies, the ostentatious public charities, the tedious formalisms so dear to the middle-class mind, he exposed with utter and relentless scorn. To us, what is termed orthodoxy is merely a facile unintelligent acquiescence; but to them, and in their hands it was a terrible and paralyzing tyranny. Christ swept it aside. He showed that the spirit alone was of value.—*Oscar Wilde,* De Profundis. p. 89. 90.

Our readers are urged to send in significant "Findings" from which we may make selections for future issues.

Loving Other Nations

The man who loves other nations as much as he does his own, stands on a par with the man who loves other women as much as he does his own wife.—*Theodore Roosevelt,* Fear God and Take Your Own Part. p. 18.

The Breath of Spring

Many admirable men of the middle way there had been in the time of Francis, good Christians, excellent citizens, churchmen saintly and learned. But it was Francis, not they, who had renewed the life of the world. To a frozen age he had brought the reviving breath of spring. If it were not for your extremist what new life in the soil would ever stir?—*Vida D. Scudder,* Brother John. A Tale of the First Franciscans.

Beyond Criticism

In the clearest, curtest, and most pointed language, and with a degree of acerbity that left no doubt of his feeling, he (President Coolidge) has repeatedly expressed his belief that it is a *duty* of the press to support the Administration's foreign policy. He does not accuse the press of unfairness or misrepresentation, but of lack of support, which is a totally different thing. . . . It is a curious, a unique situation. American history shows no period in which the press of the country seemed more spiritless, less inclined to defend its so-called "rights," more willing to accept an unmerited, uncalled-for reprimand that puts it in a false and not pleasant position.—*Willis Clark, in Atlantic Monthly, August,* 1927.

Impossible to Exaggerate

The idea of the League has outstripped the fact. The machinery is, as yet, totally inadequate to perform the task nominally incumbent upon it. It is even conceivable that no such capacity will ever be attained, but the results actually reached at Geneva are not largely affected thereby. . . . The League, is, moreover, not merely an idea but a place. It has become the point of contact not only of the statesmen but of the pressmen of Europe. Twice a year the foreign ministers of all countries assemble at Geneva. Nominally, they come to attend the Council of the Assembly. Actually, their presence makes possible innumerable conferences and discussions. No similar contact has been possible in modern European history. The immunities supplied by the League deprive the meetings of any character of incidents which might provoke domestic comment and criticism. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of this phase of the League activity. . . . As an institution the League of Nations has evolved slowly and, after all, slightly, but as an idea and a place its expansion has been well-nigh incredible. . . . In the United States the idea of the League of Nations has always been associated with the dream of a better world. In Europe, it is being accepted slowly as the single alternative to the complete and utter destruction of the existing world. For the American people the League has appeared a dangerous adventure into the unknown. For Europeans, it increasingly represents the single avenue of escape from the known.—*Frank H. Simonds,* How Europe Made Peace Without America. pp. 386, 387.

Have Faith in Massachusetts

BY HUBERT C. HERRING

IT is the afternoon of August twenty-second on Boston Common. Crowds milling back and forth. Policemen everywhere. "Keep moving, there!" "Hey, you move on!" A crowd gathers, and mounted police ride up. "Keep moving."

Newsboys yelling. *Extry. Extry.* Newspapers blanket the green grass. A new edition every hour *Extry.* Sacco and Vanzetti to the chair tonight.

"You are a great people," wrote Anatole France shortly before his death. "You ought to be a just people. There are crowds of intelligent men among you, men who think. I prefer to appeal to them. I say to you beware of making martyrs. This is the unforgivable crime that nothing can wipe out and that weighs on generation after generation."

Extry! And they are crying *extry* in a score of tongues the world around.

The *New York Times* speaks for millions today, "What moves right minded men in all this affair is simply a fear that legal technicalities and the niceties of court procedure may have prevented the sun of justice from shining full. We still want it to be said of America that here the law has 'her seat in the bosom of God', and that 'all things in heaven and earth do her homage, the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest not exempted from her power' ".

There is a line of policemen around the State House this afternoon. The dome reflects the light of an impartial sun upon the just and the unjust. Perhaps the sun also is puzzled.

A line of pickets parades back and forth before the State House: an unkempt and sober line, men and girls, with placards, appeals to the Governor, appeals to the world, appeals to everyone—save God. The law, it seems, allows seven minutes' grace. Seven minutes, and the police gather all in, girl garment workers in cotton stockings, Italians out on strike, young radicals from the ends of America. Then other pickets with other placards. These, too, are arrested. Then others, and others. A hundred and fifty-four of them have been marched to the police station today. These people have no sense. They throw themselves into the arms of the police. They are no kin to that wavering disciple who fled to the shadows, shouting, "I know not the man."

Ghosts walk on Boston Common today, the Garrisons, the Tom Paines, the Sam Adamses, the Ben Franklins. But enough of ghosts. Flesh and blood is here, swarthy flesh, somber-eyed flesh, suffering flesh, flesh prodded on by Irish police upholding the dignity of the law, the dignity of the courts of Massachusetts. I have never seen, I expect never to see again a crowd which so mutely and poignantly shared the suffering of other men.

The silence of it. These people, foreigners for the most part, have nothing to say. They simply keep moving, moving, and do not speak. But Boston Common groans in the travail of ten thousand souls.

GOVERNOR FULLER is in his office across the way. He has been there all day, he will stay until late tonight, he will listen to all comers. Here a delegation from the local post of the American Legion, "We are with you, Governor!" Here lawyers from New York and Philadelphia, men whose names are revered by all who know the American Bar, with one last plea for the fair name of the American courts, urging a commutation to life imprisonment, that American justice may have its hour to prove its honesty to an indignant and accusing world, to convince millions at home and abroad that a monstrous wrong is not done. Other delegations of newspaper editors, writers, social workers bearing petitions. Petitions with hundreds of names, leaders in American life.

Tomorrow morning the *New York Times* will say, "From the whole tragic affair one compensating fact emerges. We have had a great and consoling proof that a love of justice is still a powerful motive in this country. Discount all the extravagances. . . . There remains visible, nevertheless a body of intelligent and disinterested opinion which became stirred by the Sacco-Vanzetti case purely out of an unselfish fear that a wrong might have been done, that men accused of murder might not have had every opportunity to establish their innocence, and that there was danger lest American criminal procedure should have a stain affixed to it in the eyes of the world."

But the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is convinced, he has information which he cannot divulge, the men are guilty, the men die tonight, at midnight the current is to be turned on. The governor is bland. He has given honest toil to this case. He has examined witnesses. He has visited the scene of the murder. He has called into counsel three of the ablest and the most highly respected citizens of the state. Their verdict, separately arrived at, is unanimous. The dignity of the courts of Massachusetts is at stake. The verdict is final. The men die. Justice triumphs.

The Governor is an honest man. He refuses to yield to the clamor of the mobs of the world.

But the Governor seems not to understand. He seems

to have dismissed all appeals as the outcry of a mob gone amuck, a mob which is marching today in the streets of New York and Buenos Aires and Paris and London and Moscow, threatening, ominous, great with doom. He seems not to know that this appeal comes from some of the ablest lawyers of Boston and America, from students of criminology who have studied the case, from students of psychology who are gravely concerned. It seems not to count with him that the editors of many of the ablest and bravest of American newspapers are pleading today for a stay of the irrevocable step. Justice must be done.

But let us not forget. This is the decision of an honest man. His decision is buttressed by the careful study of three other honest men. Sacco and Vanzetti go to the chair at the word of four honorable men—the Governor and the advisory committee. I do not include the trial judge. Even his intimates do not admire Judge Webster Thayer. His name is not to be mentioned today. He has had his say. History will deal with him.

If the Governor fails to understand the language of these who plead for mercy, it is because they belong to another world. Governor Fuller has been educated in a restricted school. He has been an honest manufacturer, an honest dealer in automobiles, and he belongs to the best clubs. He is a Mason, an Odd-Fellow, an Elk, a Knight of Pythias, a loyal Baptist—this is the school in which he has learned to think. He is not equipped to understand the men who come today. He cannot understand Felix Frankfurter, nor can he be expected to know that wherever men love justice and pursue it, there the name of Frankfurter is revered. He cannot understand Waldo Cook of the *Springfield Republican* and his appeals for justice. Mr. Cook quotes Lord Bacon on the law, Lord Bacon is not read in automobile conventions. He does not understand Walter Frank and Arthur Garfield Hays of the New York Bar, nor Paul Kellogg of the *Survey,* nor John Lovejoy Elliot of Hudson Guild. They speak with the voices of another world, a world of which the Governor has scarcely heard, and whose accents fall strangely upon his ears. He seems not to know that these, too, are honorable men. He will listen to them, he does listen, but his decision is made. Justice—.

* * *

MORNING, afternoon, night. Crowds pack Charlestown streets, pressing against the ropes which the police have drawn at a safe distance from the prison where two men await the first hour of the day of August twenty-third. The sun is down. "The patch of blue which prisoners call the sky" is black. The executioner has arrived from New York. The black-frocked priest has offered his consolations, but two men who have gotten along without religion in their lifetime, will not turn to the God of the "capitalist classes" now. Silent crowds. Keep moving, always keep moving, and police in uniform, police in plain clothes, mounted police. Keep moving. Justice. Midnight.

* * *

OVER yonder is the prison, framed in blackness, and beyond it is the Bunker Hill Monument. I remember now, I had forgotten, this Bunker Hill where men fought for freedom, here in Charlestown, the Charlestown of a prison, where men live and die. . . Keep moving, you. What are you doing here tonight? . . . The Monument is silvery tonight, it is silvery every night of the year in the flood light with which the patriots of Boston bathe it. . . No flood light on Charlestown prison. . . But the Monument, erected to dead men, dead men who thought they were right, but who were voted wrong by the best people of another age. That flood light, that constant silvery light: it takes current to light that monument: electric current, strong current. . . There is a chair yonder, wound with wires, wires which will cry out at midnight for current, when the executioner from New York, the high priced expert executioner, throws in the switch, when Governor Fuller and the President of Harvard University and Judge Webster Thayer throw in the switch tonight. . . Why, in God's name, don't you turn off that floodlight on Bunker Hill, just tonight. . . Turn off all the lights. . . Let blackness rule tonight.

But stop. Let us be reasonable. Let us restrain ourselves. The Governor says these men are guilty, that they must die. The Governor is an honorable man, and he made an honorable effort to find the truth. Judge Thayer says they are guilty: he says that he had no prejudice: that the trial was fair: this same judge who talked on the golf links: did you say, "See what I did to these anarchistic bastards?"

But we must be fair: even now when the switch is ready. Perhaps this fish peddler and cobbler killed the pay-roll guard, in cold blood, for the sake of a few thousands of dollars. It may be. What gives us pause is that we shall never know—never, that is, in time to undo the work of this expert substitute executioner from New York, with his high powered current, this current which is used to light monuments to liberty.

* * *

NO patch of blue. No sky. Only blackness and ropes and police and Bunker Hill and silent people who mutter. . .God. . .God. . .and who do not believe in God. . . nor in Massachusetts.

* * *

THERE is an office down in Hanover Street. . . it is over the branch office of the First National Bank of Boston. . . this is the Italian section. The

Sacco-Vanzetti Committee has been working here for seven years. . . Jews, Italians, radicals all. It is filled tonight. . . an unshaven, haggard crowd they are. They have been crying out for seven years, tonight they wait. Mary Donovan, Irish, radical, passionate believer in the innocence of these men, and she is beautiful tonight, with the beauty of the men and women who in every age have stood at the foot of a Cross. Oh, yes, she may be mistaken about the Cross, and about the principles of the men who hang there, and her economics may be all wrong, and she may be a maker of trouble—I am not talking about that. I am talking of beauty.

And this crowd. It is a bitter picture. There is not much promise here for the peace of America. One sees in these faces the age-long process by which bitterness is clubbed into the hearts of men. So are zealots bred. . . for good causes and for bad.

But I keep saying to myself, keep your head. Remember that this may all be madness. These men may be guilty. It may be that this outcry in the streets of an indignant world is all sound and fury, signifying nothing.

It may be. . . but that trial was never honorable. These men were condemned before they were tried: condemned by men who hated them without knowing them: men who were themselves victims of that madness whose high-priest was Mitchell Palmer; in the days when the world was starkly, grotesquely insane.

Around the corner from Hanover Street there is a little hall, a dirty little hall, in which a few hundred breathe bad air together: listening to speeches, not well modulated, not well guarded in statement. The street outside is jammed with other people. An old woman puts her head out of the window, and talks to the crowd. She is a foolish old woman, and she says foolish things. She talks about the courts of Massachusetts. She says things which are not more than half true. The crowd howls its approval, and beats back a heckler. There are tears, and I hear a hysterical sob. Every tenement window is black with people, women in sloppy kimonos, children who do not understand, children who will some day march in New York and Torino, with banners "Remember the martyrs of Boston." Two policemen march the foolish old woman away, followed by a thousand men and women, shrieking their derision. A triumph for justice it is counted. They have been marching people away to jail for three weeks, for picketing, for standing up in Boston Common and saying "Justice is dead." Justice is at least sick, when it must be protected by policemen enforcing silence. Futile. . . all this outcry. . . all these heroics. . .all this throwing oneself into the arms of the police. . . perhaps, but Boston is dotted with bronze memorials to men and women who did this kind of thing years ago. Powers Hapgood. . . arrested so many times that his friends lost count. Edna St. Vincent Millay marched off to jail. . .but perhaps the words she is writing will be remembered when all the briefs of the lawyers are forgotten.

IN the Bellevue Hotel, another group is waiting. These are lawyers, newspaper men, social workers. There are lawyers who have been working on this case, unofficially, without retainer or fee. They have not been paid to read every line of the testimony, to examine evidence, but they have done it because they are jealous for the fair name of America, for the salvaging of fair play. The *New York Times* is right. "We have had a great and consoling proof that a love of justice is still a powerful motive in this country."

It is eleven o'clock at last. The Governor is leaving his office. Thousands of telegrams have poured in from America and the ends of the world.

There have been some who do not speak.

The eloquent silences.

The silence of the Boston Chamber of Commerce.

The silence of the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs.

The silence of the City Club and the University Club.

The silence of Boston newspapers.

The silence of the churches.

The churches, custodian of the sacred words of the prophets and the Carpenter of Nazareth. Silent.

Here, if ever, the churches which bear the name of Jesus, had the chance to cry out against them who turn judgment to wormwood, to demand in the name of a just and loving God, that justice be not irrevocably stained. But they did not.

Let us be fair. These Christians are convinced. They labor under no doubts, they were harassed by no buffetings of conscience. The Judge is honorable, the Governor is fair, the President of Harvard University is a learned man. The two Italians are guilty. It is all simple. They seem not to realize that the simplicity into which they have resolved it speaks of the greater danger beneath. It is simple to these respectable people because they have, wholly unconsciously, built up an alliance between Christianity and social intolerance. They do not say, these men die because they are radicals, but it is written large between the lines. Two mobs meet in Boston tonight—the mob which cries, Kill, no matter what the trial may have been, and the mob which cries, Release, no matter what the guilt may be. Mobs are mad. Boston is mad tonight. And the church is silent.

Silent Churches. That is not altogether fair. A few ministers in Boston speak out. A few notable churchmen protest. There is sufficient light to make the blackness blacker.

There is religious passion here tonight. . . in a bedroom of the Bellevue Hotel. Jews. . . lawyers. . .

leaders of the Ethical Culture Society. . .men who do not believe in God, but who believe in man.

But perhaps they are all wrong. Perhaps—perhaps—but it is twelve. And then twenty past, and a telephone is clanging. "Sacco is gone."

God. . . Nothing else is said. There is nothing else to be said.

And boys yelling in the street. *Extry. Extry.*

* * *

"SOME Day," wrote Vanzetti yesterday to Sacco's son Dante, "some day you will be able to understand what I am about to tell you, that your father has sacrificed everything dear and sacred to the human heart and soul for his faith in liberty and justice for all. That day you will be proud of your father, and if you come brave enough, you will take his place in the struggle between tyranny and liberty and you will vindicate his name and our blood. . . Remember Dante . . .if we will be executed. . .it is for what I have already told you; because we were for the poor and against the exploitation and oppression of the man by the man."

* * *

DOWN in the Italian section, one o'clock now. No crowds, only people standing around, people leaning against buildings, saying nothing. Women sitting on curb stones, weeping silently. But they are only Italians, Jews, radicals. This is Massachusetts. Have faith in Massachusetts!

The Germans Trade on the Yangtse

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

WHILE English and Americans and occasionally Japanese flee at their consul's orders to the foreign-controlled treaty ports in China, the Germans stay on in the heart of this war-torn country. Men, women and children, they live under Chinese laws and Chinese protection, a continual affront to that intervention propaganda which sees nothing but rapine and disorder. Business is very bad, they say, but then they have all that is left of it, sharing it with no other nation. Their ships go up and down the Yangtse, undisturbed, laying the foundations for a great trade expansion which every German believes will come with the stabilization of China.

On the side of the *S. S. Sachsen* on which I am now afloat, enroute to Hankow, are painted four large Chinese characters and a German flag. These are our only protection. The characters mean literally: "Virtue Empire Trading Ship,"—"Virtue Empire" being the old Chinese name for Germany. It is painted today on all the German vessels navigating inland Chinese waters. It is known to all Chinese as the sign of a nation which has today no special privileges in China.

For two days, knowing that we were in the midst of the most portentous upheaval of the century, we have lazily watched the sun rise and set uneventfully on the peaceful yellow waters of this mighty river. Scores of trading junks are in constant sight; on the green banks we see the labors of fishermen and peasants. From time to time we see an English or American gunboat; at the river mouth and again at Nanking were small Chinese war-vessels of the Nanking government. Our last newspapers before leaving Shanghai told of the break between Britain and the Soviet Republic, and of the rapid nationalist drive to the north on both railroads. But here the regular German gong calls us to regular German meals. In the evening a phonograph plays for dancing on the deck.

The dancing is not very successful as practically all of our passengers are women, chiefly wives returning to their homes in Hankow. The British steamers, which ply three or four times weekly up-river to Hankow, escorted by gun-boats, will take no women. They are under orders of the Admiralty, which insists that a constant state of war and tumult prevails. So the women turn to the occasional German freight boats, which have come all the way from Hamburg, and after calling at many northern points go up the Yangtse for freight. The men take the more regular, more comfortable British passenger steamers, under protection of gun-boats. The women travel on freighters, unprotected except by the four characters on our ship. Such is the odd result of the chivalry of the British Admiralty.

IT is not surprising that we find passage peaceful, for the line of battle has already moved to the north. Some weeks ago another German freighter went up-river, during the period of actual war on the Yangtse. . . . Von Salzman, a veteran of three wars, and for 27 years newspaper correspondent in China, told me his experience on that vessel.

"As we drew near Nanking and Pukow, there was firing ahead. (These two towns face each other across a narrow part of the river and at that time were in the hands of opposing forces.) I was on the bridge at the time. When we were nearly abreast, and the Chinese could read our sign, all firing stopped. It

resumed in a desultory fashion after we passed." So courteous was the Chinese civil war to a non-combatant! Von Salzman added: "All the way up-river, whenever we approached near enough to either side to see the people, soldiers who were out fishing would look up as we passed. They stared and then suddenly began waving their hats at us. This was true of both north and south."

It is an odd thing to see the formerly noted "militarist nation" falling heir to the Quaker tradition, and passing through war-zones unmolested. It causes bitter attacks from the British of Shanghai, who resent this proof of China's essential peacefulness. "Don't publish that in Shanghai again," cried Von Salzman, after telling me his experiences. "I am tired of the attacks and the snooping of British secret service. . . . In spite of what Quo said, I'll take my oath our cargo was nothing but beans!"

The accusation of carrying arms to Hankow had been lodged against the German trading vessels and had cut deep. Von Salzman was furious. "No German authority would dare protect a dealer in either arms or opium," he said. "It is not only against Chinese law but against all human law. I don't claim that my people are better than other people. But here in China's inland waters we come under Chinese law, and the others don't. We wouldn't dare violate law, even if we wished to. Our ships could be seized for it."

The accusations, however, caused the next German boat to be stopped on its way up-river by the Nanking authorities. It was held for two days and thoroughly searched for arms and Bolsheviks,—since the Nanking government is seizing and executing all communists. The German ship submitted, as a well-behaved ship would submit in any other war zone, and then proceeded up-river. The next German ship, which chances to be the one on which I am travelling, took the precaution to go first to the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Nanking Government, Mr. C. C. Wu, and arrange that the proper authorities of the new Chinese Admiralty should examine the ship's papers at Woosung, the mouth of the river. These formalities occupied two hours; and we were not halted even for a moment in Nanking.

TOTALLY different from this reasoned patience is the method of the Privileged Powers on the Yangtse. They claim the right to proceed into China's inland waters without any search or inquiry by the local authorities. A recent "incident" illustrates what happens. An American commercial boat, escorted by an American gun-boat, passed a Chinese fort and was signalled to stop. The ship steamed ahead without replying. The fort fired a shot across the bow of the American vessel. Thereupon the escorting American gun-boat opened serious fire on the Chinese fort. The incident was featured in the Shanghai papers as a heinous example of Chinese attack on a peaceful vessel, and an example of the need of gun-boat protection. The German method of recognizing Chinese law in Chinese waters and submitting to signals from any local authorities demands more self-control and patience, but is winning trade and friendship.

VON Salzman, to whom I applied for information about Germans on the Yangtse, is a man worth knowing. He has fought in three wars, the Boer War, the Boxer Expedition and the World War. He suffers from several old wounds and is half-blind, requiring for reading the services of a secretary. But he knows a dozen Chinese dialects and has spent twenty-seven years in the country. He writes for the Ullstein Service, the largest publishers in Europe. He is utterly sophisticated and entirely fearless. A former staunch monarchist, he was enthralled in Hankow by the spirit of the communist Borodin, lunched and dined with him and had long talks with him, and wrote for the European press a glowing account of him as one of the great men of our day. He was chuckling at the thought of the stir this would cause in Europe, where "due to British propaganda" Borodin is his Satanic Majesty incarnate.

"There are some 230 Germans living in Hankow," said Von Salzman, "counting men, women and children. We live under Chinese law; our consul can advise us, but cannot give us orders. It is a little democratic community, and feels happy in Hankow. We have had no trouble with the Chinese.

"It is to show the world that we are staying there and trading, though business just now is very bad. The Hamburg-American Line asked my advice about going to Hankow. They had a load from Dairen for Hamburg and could have loaded completely in that port. . . But I said: 'By all means go to Hankow; keep up the connection. . .' So they loaded partly with coal for Hankow, and then filled up again with wood-oil and sesamum for Europe.

"It was not labor troubles that destroyed business in Hankow. It was the military blockade of the great hinterland, and the money blockade instituted by the British banks of Shanghai. There is no small business in Hankow; it is all big business, chiefly export of raw materials, wood-oil and tropical grains. Since October, 1925, in the days of Wu Pei Fu, railway transport in all directions was troubled by war, and the recent nationalist advance troubled it still further, making it impossible to know from week to week what regions still would have connections with Hankow.

"Then, as soon as the Hankow government was established in the hands of the Nationalists, the British

banks in Shanghai began to drain off silver from up-river. The split between Hankow and Nanking was accompanied by a seizure of the silver in Canton, (it has been turned to the uses of the local military), and also prevented the brilliant young Finance Minister T. V. Soong, from getting back to Hankow. Under these circumstances the Hankow government tried the desperate expedient of a moratorium on silver, forcing local merchants to give their silver to the government in return for paper money. Since peasants will only accept silver, this also seriously hampered trade.

"Hankow is a commercial problem, not a political problem, as the British try to make it. It needs peace and trade, not any new political change. Goods fail to come in because of the opposing military forces up-river. If this keeps up four months, all export comes to a standstill. But I do not think it will keep up four months. Either the Nationalists will take more territory and trade will resume; or else the Chinese will find some other way around it. They are infinitely adaptable, the best traders in the world.

"Meantime we Germans are not so badly off. If trade has fallen very badly, at least we have all there is of it, since the British went away. Only it is a spasmodic job trade, nothing that can be counted on continuously. Such trade has great risks and we Germans are not rich enough to take great risks. Also, the British are attacking German credit in Hamburg, New York and London; they are enraged by our policy in China. All these things cause great mental strain among the Hankow Germans.

"There is another cause of strain. The heat of Hankow is hell in summer. Women and children simply cannot endure it. But Kuling hill resort is affected by bandits, and the hill resort up-river is in the hands of the other army. There remains only to go to the hill resorts of Japan. But if our women and children all go out to Japan, then the British propaganda starts: 'Germans flee Hankow. . . ' It is not easy to see babies wilting in the heat, but we have a moral responsibility to the Chinese not to help destroy their reputation for orderliness."

"A moral responsibility to the Chinese. . . ." To save the face of China! What other nation, (except indeed Russia), has even dreamed of considering the feelings and reputation of China. The mere idea that China has a reputation for which she cares would strike the average Anglo-Saxon as ludicrous. Even those who are sincerely concerned with saving the souls and the bodies of Chinese —do they dream of saving his "face?" Yet reputation means as much to the Chinese as life itself. . . . Alone among nations the Germans in China have realized a double moral responsibility,—for the reputation of the homeland that sent them forth, and for the reputation of the land in which they live as guests.

THE recent history of Germans in China is one which sheds no credit on the other white nations. "By the request of the British," says Von Salzman, "we were kicked out of the country. It was a year after the armistice, in 1919, when the war was supposedly over. We were taken in three British transports to Germany, packed in like coolies. Our homes, our businesses were ruined. When we tried to come back, they would not let us land in Shanghai or even on purely Chinese soil." Yet today there are a couple of thousand Germans in Shanghai, and others scattered throughout the country. They learn the Chinese language and deal direct with the people, whereas the British disdain to speak Chinese even to their servants, and carry on trade through Chinese intermediaries.

One other German characteristic Von Salzman mentioned, as the key to German standing. "It is" he said, "our self-control." The Anglo-Saxon relies on gun-boats, or at least on law-courts. Aside from the fact that these are foreign law-courts, whose rulings have no moral weight with the Chinese, no respectable Chinese ever takes a business matter into even a Chinese law-court. The Chinese uses arbitration; to go to law is to him a shameful confession of inability to do good business.

"When you go to a law-court, you go to fight, with a lawyer and a consul for weapon instead of a gun. But when you go to an arbitration court, you go to convince by reason. You control yourself; you make yourself ready in your brain. And then" concluded Von Salzman, "there is peace."

The peaceful methods of the Germans in China are only in part from choice and in part from necessity forced on them by the Allies after the World War. None the less they are winning rapidly. There are those who predict that Germany will capture most of China's trade in the near future. But for this they lack capital; New York and London control the purse-strings and are already drawing them in irritation against German trade in China, which has shown up the falseness of their propaganda of force.

"How have they cheated and misled the world about Hankow!" cried Von Salzman. "Before summer passes, I think they will bring even more serious pressure, both against Hankow and against us Germans for trading there. It will not be easy; some firms will go bankrupt, since credit is in the hands of the attacking nations. None the less we shall survive to trade in peace in the East."

* * *

TWO days after writing the above, I arrived in Hankow, and learned that the Hankow government has already furnished protection for Kuling summer resort and that Germans are going there.

I also learned that the British passenger steamer which preceded us up river, had its lower deck completely protected by barbed wire. When Chinese sampans crowded vociferously about to compete for passengers at Kiukiang, the British captain ordered the Chinese crew to turn the hose on them. The Chinese in the sampans manifested no resentment; they removed their coats, wrung them out and withdrew. . . But such are the contrasting ways of travelling up the Yangtse.

The Teacher: Goose-stepper or Leader

BY ONE GREATLY CONCERNED

IN a recent issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW the question was raised as to whether or not a college instructor should sacrifice everything for the sake of truth and decency at a time when the local college administration is violating these higher considerations.

I am of the opinion he should. Two years ago I came to a point where it was necessary to subscribe to flagrantly dishonest policies of an administration, or literally sacrifice everything. I chose to stake everything for a principle, and accept the almost inevitable defeat. Temporary defeat was expected. The expectations were realized beyond my fondest hopes and worst fears.

Because the experience was so poignant, because it may throw a bit of light on the question raised not long ago in THE WORLD TOMORROW, I am relating the simple facts of it, nothing extentuate, nor aught set down in malice.

The institution was a prosperous college of three hundred students. It was only a night's ride from New York City, but far enough below the Mason-Dixon line to be in a community which was a prey to the most vehement racial and ecclesiastical hatreds.

It was my fourth year. I had been assured of indefinite tenure of office on the basis of my work as a department head. The president gave a written statement commending my record in the highest terms. In four years academic standards had risen, and a student response of an unusually cordial nature had developed. During the first year the mere mention in the classroom of race cooperation nearly provoked a riot. In the fourth year it was discussed with calm deliberation. That is only one instance of the changes which took place in the academic outlook.

But at the end of the third year a valued colleague of Southern birth and ancestry ventured to go to the Indianapolis convention, and on her return publicly endorsed the policies there recommended. She was quietly given a chance to withdraw. By a little patient investigation I found that in the recent history of that college there had been numerous withdrawals of a similar nature. I then resolved that if my time came to withdraw, it would take place in the open. It did.

During the fourth year it became evident that I was being watched. I had kept so far inside the bounds of professional obligation that no technical charges of any kind could be made. However, I was officially reprimanded for speaking before a Universalist congregation. My defense was that the address used had previously been given at the college, and warmly approved by the administration. Why not shed on the benighted Universalists the light that had illumined the Fundamentalist path?

THE defense was accepted, but later I was called to question for having as a guest at my house the Universalist clergyman. Next the administration wished to expel a student without convincing evidence. My vote was the only one needed to make a unanimous verdict, and for many years it had been the custom to have unanimous decisions. That one was not, though the venerable president sought for three hours of private intimidation to make it so. He later said it was. The secretary's record tells a different story. Then a visiting friend at a class in Bible one night spoke briefly and dispassionately of a few recent books, none of them in the least radical or controversial.

Then the crisis came. In a series of painful interviews the president tried to force me to resign quietly. My reply was that he had already re-appointed me, and that I would resign if he would give adequate reason for the need of it. He said the only reason was the one of influence and attitude. When his trustees met, he read the names of faculty members to be retained in such a manner that the board understood that every faculty member was being retained. Mine was purposely omitted, and by this devious technicality I was sanctimoniously disposed of with the request that I treat the whole matter as confidential. I did, but a person in the ecclesiastical ring was not so punctilious, and,—to my satisfaction I must admit,—the students learned of the situation.

I tried to discourage any demonstration, but a broom cannot hold back the tides of the Atlantic. Practically the entire three hundred met and called in the president, a proceeding rather unprecedented in Dixie. They had other grievances beside my dismissal. The student government was polluted by faculty domination, espionage of students on each other was demanded, a dean was untruthful and in-

efficient. My dismissal was the last straw. No immediate results came. The administration did what all tyrannies do at such a time—merely laid it on thicker.

AFTER commencement I looked for another appointment. It was an unfavorable year, and some unaccountable influence worked against me. I have no documentary evidence as to what it was, but I have a rather clear idea. There is probably no college blacklist, but the sectarian colleges must have an effective substitute, for all that season I was unfailingly turned down. The American Civil Liberties Union heard of the case remotely, but they were too busy with bigger fish. When it became evident that no position was available, I decided to spend the following academic year at one of the American universities doing work I had hoped to do some day at Oxford.

During the year their appointment bureau tried its utmost to secure me another opening. The hostile influence was still at work, but at last they found me a very mediocre place in the far west. It seemed wise to take this opportunity and accept a beginner's job, after seven years of successful college teaching, and the acquisition of a PhD. degree at an Eastern University.

Slight as the job was, it was better than firing boilers, my side-line of occupation during the year of enforced vacation. For hostages accompany me, in the person of wife and two small children.

AT the far-off college where the crisis came, forty students left the fall after my dismissal. The college attributes that to mere chance. But it has begun to clean up some of the administrative crookedness, and there are signs that the mills of the gods are grinding. The next graduating class succeeded in putting a memorial page to the exiled faculty member into their year book. How it got past the censor is a question. It was a compensation not to be overlooked.

Professionally I may never come back, although the chances for a come-back begin to look brighter. There have been the long months of uncertainty and defeat. Some things have been lost which are not likely to be restored. And the irony of it is that I am usually considered a good deal of a conservative, and doubtless I am.

—Woodcut by J. J. Lankes

Some One Like You

YOU have a friend and friends who "talk your language," who read and profit by the same books, who rely on you to send or recommend, from year to year, the magazines carrying articles they need and want to read. This page is written that you may serve those who like you will want to read and discuss not only the material on the subject announced for each issue but in addition the **TWO SERIES OF SIGNIFICANT ARTICLES** by distinguished critics of contemporary life which begin in this number of **THE WORLD TOMORROW.**

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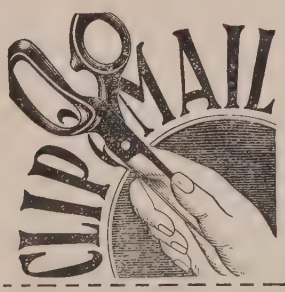

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Books on Wealth and Power

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

A Heretic in Economics

FREDERICK Soddy, M.A., F.R.S., is a heretic. It is true that he is better known as a Nobel Prize winner in chemistry. But as a result of his recent volume,[1] he has been condemned to the region inhabited by damned souls. This Oxford professor turned aside from his researches in chemistry long enough to examine some of the most sacred idols of the orthodox economists and to reveal them as frauds and fakes.

The major thesis of the book is that current economics *mistakes debt for wealth* and that this confusion vitiates clear thinking. "Money, credit, and other legal claims to wealth are debts, rather than wealth." Money does not bear interest, but the power to issue credit makes possible the collection of interest. Debasing the currency is called counterfeiting and is counted a criminal offense. Debasing the purchasing power of money by controlling credit is a highly lucrative and honorable practise. Yet the social costs of the latter are vastly more stupendous than of the former.

This is the way the game goes: banks are permitted to make loans totaling five or six times their deposits. "Money, vastly exceeding in amount the total national money, can be and is created and destroyed by the moneylender with a stroke of the pen. . . . Bank loans are not genuine money loans, but are entirely fictitious, in that no one gives up the money lent, it is new money created for that purpose." Yet these fictitious loans bear normal rates of interest.

The fluctuating value of money in terms of purchasing power occasions heavy social losses. "If the state is to keep faith with all parties, the value of its money must remain constant." In order to do this, the state must maintain control of credit. The total quantity of money in circulation should be determined by the index number of general price-levels. The banks should be permitted to lend only that money which is genuinely deposited into their keeping. Taxation should be used as a measure of securing revenue for building up a greater volume of industrial production and for the reconstruction of agriculture.

Reading this book is somewhat like climbing a tall peak, the going is sometimes very difficult but the panorama presented is most impressive.

K. P.

A Step Toward Democratic Government

HOW representative is "representative" government? If the people of New York State in a presidential election cast one more vote for Al Smith than for, let us say, the man who does not "choose," 45 electoral votes go as a unit for the sidewalks of New York, and the cause of taciturnity is left without adequate—I all but said spokesmen. This is only one of countless cases that could be cited to show how undemocratic our electoral system is in actuality. *Proportional Representation,* by Clarence Gilbert Hoag and George Hervey Hallett, Jr., describes in detail a system of democratic election procedure applicable to elections of nearly all types—national, state, municipal, and even in organizations. For those who do not know as yet the case for proportional representation, this book will be an eye-opener; while for those who are familiar with "P. R." it will be an invaluable historic handbook and a treasure chest of up-to-date information. While Hoag and Hallett know their line as well as Lindbergh knows the Spirit of St. Louis, and though they are men of vision, they take no aerial excursions. They do not offer a panacea, but as scientific political students they propose a practicable, sound step toward the development of a democratic technique. (Published by Macmillan, $5.)

D. A.

[1] Wealth, Virtual Wealth and Debt, published by Dutton, $3.50.

If I Were Dictator

HISTORY, analysis, and prophecy are contained in a stimulating volume, *The Social Control of Business,* by John Maurice Clark,[1] Professor of Political Economy, University of Chicago. After a brief but illuminating review of the various historic systems of control, the author devotes primary attention to an analysis of existing methods of control and to an evaluation of various types that are now being proposed. He points out that "complete individualism never has existed. . . . Complete *laissez faire* was and remains an abstraction not to be found existing anywhere in the world of business and political reality." Although the author is affiliated with one of the most heavily endowed institutions in the country, in his concluding chapter, "If I Were Dictator," he outlines a scheme of social control of business so drastic in nature as to brand him forever as a dangerous red in the eyes of defenders-of-things-as-are. Published by the University of Chicago Press, $4.)

K. P.

Money In Politics

ONE of those quiet, unradical books in appearance, and yet full of dynamite in its implications, is *Party Campaign Funds,* by James K. Pollock, Jr. If anyone wants to know the truth about money's role in political campaigns, he will find it in this excellently documented volume. If not all the truth, about all that one can stand. Many a muck-raker has said less—and been more damned for saying it—than this dispassionate study. It is cheerfully recommended for all political heretics during the 1928 sideshow. It is even conceivable that orthodox politicians may be stung by it into certain measures of reform. However, I am not wholly an optimist, and I fervently hope that good Mr. Knopf, its estimable publisher, is not figuring on raising the mortgage from the old farm by sales in that direction. (Published by Knopf, $3.)

D. A.

Beyond Strikes and Lockouts

INDUSTRIAL conflicts are admittedly wasteful. Yet labor cannot afford to give up the strike until a better way of securing justice is available. Wage boards and other impartial tribunals are ineffective because their jurisdiction is limited to a given industry. The various industries, however, are interdependent. Consequently it is necessary to consider industry as an organic whole if workers are to receive an equitable share of the national income. Stimulating suggestions concerning an approach to the solution of this intricate problem are contained in Professor J. A. Hobson's new volume, *The Conditions of Industrial Peace.* (Published by Macmillan, $1.50).

K. P.

Why the Consumer Pays

YOU are right. Costs of distribution have risen out of proportion to costs of production. You are wrong. Responsibility does not rest primarily with the middle men. Manufacturers who are eager to capture a national market are chiefly to blame. This is the thesis of *The Distribution Age,* by Ralph Borsodi. Unnecessary transportation, high pressure salesmanship, national advertising, large profits for the manufacturers—these are chiefly responsible for the high cost of distribution. In the long run the consumer always pays. He will continue to pay more and more unless he wakes up to what is going on. This is an illuminating book on an important theme. (Published by Appleton, $3.)

K. P.

Reading List on Economic Power

The Causes of Industrial Unrest, by John A. Fitch. Harpers, 1924.

Main Street and Wall Street, by William Z. Ripley. Little, Brown & Co., 1926.

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction, edited by S. M. Cavert. Association Press, 1924.

Public Ownership, Carl D. Thompson. Crowell, 1925.

An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, by Charles A. Beard. Macmillan, 1913.

Absentee Ownership in the United States, by Thorstein Veblen. Huebsch, 1923.

The Profit Motive, by Harry F. Ward. League for Industrial Democracy, 1924. (Pamphlet.)

The History of Socialist Thought, by Harry W. Laidler. Crowell, 1927.

How America Lives, by Harry W. Laidler. League for Industrial Democracy, 1924. (Pamphlet.)

The Tragedy of Waste, by Stuart Chase. Macmillan, 1926.

New Tactics in Social Conflict, a symposium, edited by Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler. Vanguard Press, 1926.

Political and Industrial Democracy, by W. Jett Lauck. Funk and Wagnalls, 1927.

Cooperative Democracy, by James Peter Warbasse. Macmillan, 1926.

Profits, by William T. Foster and Waddill Catchings. Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1925.

The Industrial Code, by W. Jett Lauck and Claude S. Watts. Funk and Wagnalls, 1922.

Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use it, by Louis D. Brandeis. Stokes, 1914.

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Will Democracy Create a Social Caste System?

N. J. LENNES, under the title *Whither Democracy?*—(democracy here used not merely to denote a type of government but to suggest a whole system of social relations in which all individuals are given, as nearly as may be equal opportunities and responsibilities)—has written a speculative study around the question "does equalizing opportunity create hereditary social classes?" He asks and answers in part some of these questions.

"Is our rural population being depleted of its best elements and also of its worst by migration to the cities? Is there a similar process going on in the sections of our cities occupied mainly by common labor whereby the stronger in intelligence and character and perseverance win their way into other groups, leaving those that remain more deficient in these qualities? Will this continue with cumulative effect, reducing this lowest group to continually lower levels in this respect? Are such qualities inherited, and if so will this process lead to a lowest group producing very few children with inherited traits which will enable them to rise even when using their best effort and when given the best of opportunities? Is there developing by natural selection a lowest hereditary caste—of qualities which make it impossible for them to rise? If these questions are answered in the affirmative it follows that the one condition which hastens the formation of such a group is *opportunity* whereby the better endowed are enabled to move into other groups and, to employ the expression so common among members of all social groups, to improve their conditions in life.

Is there in process of development a whole series of such groups, one above the other, and is there an increasing tendency for membership in these groups to become hereditary? Is there forming a highest group consisting of those who possess by inheritance a complex of qualities that are necessary for the greatest achievements? Will this highest group continue to draw into itself all those possessing these qualities in a very high degree until the lower groups are so depleted of them that further migration will be increasingly rare; and will this result in a new hereditary aristocracy based on fundamental qualities which will make it more solid and more permanent than any that the world has yet seen?" No remedies are suggested. The study is purely diagnostic. (Published by Harper & Brothers, $3.) A. A. S.

The Financial Fathers

MEADE MINNIGERODE is out with another book entitled *Certain Rich Men.* In it he sketches the lives and careers of seven financial pioneers of this country: Stephen Girard, John Jacob Astor, Jay Cooke, Daniel Drew, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jay Gould, and Jim Fisk. Within 210 pages it is impossible to do more than skim lightly through the important and fascinating cross section of American social history here presented. Still there are flashes here and there which light up the swashbucklering soul of these early merchant princes. "Law! What do I care about law? Hain't I got the power?" characterizes Cornelius Vanderbilt. "Daniel says up, Erie goes up. Daniel says down, Erie goes down. Daniel says wiggle-waggle, Erie bobs both ways," describes the manipulations of Daniel Drew. On the whole the book is too meager. The richness and importance of the material would easily justify twice the space now occupied. (Published by Putnam, $3.50.) H. C. E.

OF GENERAL INTEREST BUT OF SPECIAL WORTH

The Life of Jesus

JESUS, A New Biography[1]—not so formidable in extent as its 441 pages would indicate—is intended by its author to be a "new biography" of Jesus. Professor Case's name is sufficient guarantee that it is written in an easy engaging style and reflects a warm enlightened social interest. The reader also feels on every page the sure touch of the trained scholar.

The writer endeavors, by a rigorous application of scientific historical method, "to depict Jesus as he actually appeared to the men of his own time in Palestine." To do this, he first separates (according to the form-geschichtliche method) the earlier fragmentary narratives of the sources into their different literary genera— "legends, paradigms, proverbs, exhortations" etc.—and aims thus to distinguish between earlier and later pieces. A second more fundamental criterion is "the social experience reflected in the tradition." That which is found to be "peculiarly apposite to a situation realized first in the social experience of the disciples after Jesus' death can hardly be taken to represent a well-established fact of his career" (p. 109).

In applying these canons the author obtains extensive negative results. Much that lies embedded in Mark and Q is set aside as later "interpretations" by different groups of Christian preachers, each of whom was interested in meeting some practical missionary situation with alleged citations of Jesus' words or deeds. The real Jesus, for instance, did not demand allegiance to himself; he assumed no unique authority; he made no claims to forgive sins; he did not declare himself superior to the sabbath, he did not envisage himself as Messiah or future apocalyptic Son of Man; he did not assert his absolute oneness of knowledge with the Father, nor regard himself as a mighty healer and worker of miracles; he had no intention of founding a new religion, nor did he look beyond his death to resurrection and future relations with his disciples on earth—and so forth.

The positive results of the method are two-fold: the acceptance of not a few traditions as reliable, and the endeavor, by going behind suspected traditions, to infer the actual facts regarding Jesus. Here we get the author's own reconstruction of the historic Jesus as a prophet who was called by a definite psychic experience, who gathered disciples about him, who preached repentance in view of a coming day of the Lord—all after the pattern of the ancient prophets. At first he expected to succeed, then, encountering indifference and hostility, saw death threaten but did not deviate from his effort to prepare Israel.

No historian, however candid, can escape bias, and that of the present author manifests itself in an over-suspiciousness towards the sources, and an over-readiness to set them right. The book has its value as a noble reconstruction of Jesus from a certain point of view. It is moreover rich in its description of his environment. Yet somehow it fails to "depict;" one does not *see* this reconstructed Jesus. It is hardly a biography; better perhaps, a discussion; or—shall we say it?—an "interpretation."

FLEMING JAMES

[1] Published by the University of Chicago Press. $3.

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A. A. S.

[1] Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 5 shillings.

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"What book have you recently found especially worth while?" In response to this query we have received the following titles:

GEORGE COLLINS, secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation: *From Man to Man,* by Olive Schreiner (Harper's).

WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL, secretary, Methodist Federation for Social Service: *Whither Russia,* by Leon Trotsky (International).

JOHN W. HERRING, executive secretary, Committee on Good Will Between Jews and Christians, of the Federal Council of Churches: *The Honorable Picnic,* by Thomas Raucat (Viking Press).

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Recent Gains in Government. By Charles A. Beard.

Vital Religion. By Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

BETTER BOOKS *for* ALL-ROUND READING

God's Trombones, by James Weldon Johnson. New York: The Viking Press, 1927. 9 x 6½. 56 pages. $2.50. Seven Negro sermons in verse. "The old-time Negro preacher is rapidly passing. I have tried here sincerely to fix something of him."

Plant Autographs and Their Revelations, by Sir Jagadis Chunder Bose, F. R. S. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 8 x 5½. 240 pages. $2.50. The famous East Indian scientist's experiments. "I have been able to make the dumb plant the most eloquent chronicler of its inner life and experiences by making it write down its own history. The self-made records thus made show that there is no life-reaction in even the highest animal which has not been foreshadowed in the life of the plant."

The Handbook of the Churches, by Benjamin S. Winchester. New York: 1927. 9 x 6. 456 pages. $2.14 postpaid. Published for the Federal Council of Churches, this valuable compendium covers briefly much of recent religious and social activities. Denominational data are abundant, even the Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Predestinarian Baptists being listed.

From Bismarck to the World War, by Erich Brandenburg. London: Oxford University Press. 1927. 6 x 9. 542 pages. $7. A translation of the best single volume on pre-war diplomacy. The German historian grows sad and cynical contemplating diplomats.

The Spiritual Element in History, by Robert W. McLaughlin. New York: The Abingdon Press. 1926. 6 x 8½. 312 pages. $2.50. An attempt to put God back into history with the use of the historical method.

The Problem of Security, by J. W. Wheeler-Bennett and F. E. Langermann. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1927. 9 x 6. 272 pages. $2.75. A comprehensive survey of the various international conferences since the war, with valuable appendices.

The History of Reparations, by Carl Bergmann. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1927. 10¼ x 7. 333 pages. $6.00. An exceedingly important volume in the light of the probable revision of the Dawes Plan within the next two years. An excellent illustration of German thoroughness and objectiveness.

The Peat Cutters, by Alphonse de Chateaubriant. New York: The Dial Press, 1927. 5 x 7½. 308 pages. $2.50. A novel of peasant life of the marshy peat country of the Loire River in France. It is a tragedy of the elemental passions, the loves and hates of a peasant household beautifully told.

Working Bullocks, by Katharine Susannah Prichard. New York: The Viking Press, 1927. 5 x 7½. 313 pages. $2. A story of big timber and lumbering in West Australia, where bullocks are used for heavy hauling. Life on the land and some of the people are so well done that your heart aches with theirs in their efforts to subdue nature and to meet life.

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Do not seek happiness just for yourself. Step down to help the weak ones who cry for help. Help the persecuted, because they are your better friends. They are your comrades who fight and fall, as your father and Barto fought and fell, to conquer joy and freedom for all the poor workers.

Gary's Advice to His Heirs

I earnestly request my wife and my children and descendants that they steadfastly decline to sign any bonds or obligations of any kind as surety for any other person, or persons; that they refuse to make any loans except on the basis of first-class, well-known securities, and that they invariably decline to invest in any untried or doubtful securities or property or enterprise or business.

Corrections

GORDON H. WARD writes: "I am sorry to say that a line was omitted from the next to last paragraph of my review in the August number. The statement should read:

> The reactionary propertied interests dominate the educational machinery so it turns out virtually only conformists. It is the economic exploitation of the *middlemen* which has aroused the leaders to organize cooperative associations to gain power to bargain with the organized merchants and manufacturers.

E. C. HASSOLD writes from the University of Louisville: "In my article in the September issue the statement about Bertrand Russell should read 'is again (*not* against) proposing roads to freedom.'"

Announcement

THE LEAGUE TO ABOLISH CAPITAL PUNISHMENT, with headquarters at 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is pressing its campaign for the abolition of the death penalty in every state in the Union and in the District of Columbia. In New York a concerted drive is to be made in the Legislature convening next January, to amend the Penal Code and substitute life imprisonment for execution. Similar action may be organized in other states.

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52 Vanderbilt Avenue New York City

The Last Page

I'M up in the air. Literally. Believe it or not. I'm up where I can look down on ordinary people. In a blimp. It's a small blimp, as blimps are blimping nowadays, but a fast one all the same. It isn't as safe as it might be, though, because I couldn't get any helium. The paper wouldn't give me an appropriation. I had to use hot air. Now w a i t a minute. No, I did *not* blow it up myself. I have been going around to meetings of the political prognosticators, and I got what I wanted. With the aid of my specially devised hot-air-accumulator. This contrivance uses the infra-red-white-and-blue rays, and with it I sat in on a gathering of radical-scotchers and secured enough inflating material to warrant a trip around the world.

My vehicle doesn't look like a blimp. It looks like a cloud. That was just another little idea of mine. I had it treated by a Washington friend long an expert at beclouding anything and everything. Consequently my take-off was unnoticed, even in the Capital City. I can sail along where I want to, totally unobserved, and snoop wherever my pleasure listeth. At the moment it lists to starboard. Off to my right is the Monument. You ought to hear the tourists exclaiming over being up so high that a cloud is scuttling past!

I have been cruising over the War College. Long enough, too, to absorb something of the college spirit. I've had my ideas on war entirely done over. I see now that I haven't been keeping up with progress. War isn't what is used to be at all; it's much nicer. In those far days of a decade ago men were less humane than they are going to be hereafter. In wars like the last one, armies were rough and uncouth, and much of their activity was in decidedly bad taste. They used even to shoot each other up, scattering the battlefields with broken bodies and bits of bodies. Hot flame spurted across No Man's Land, and shells rained death by day and night on huddled lines of mud-stained, crouching men.

No longer. It's cleaner now. Merely a matter of incapacitating (don't call them poison) gases. These gases will be more humane than shell fire, simply making the enemy cry or sneeze or cough himself into impotence. War will be kind, chivalrous, and of course, strictly defensive. David A. Reed, Mr. Mellon's senatorial friend, avers it. So does Jim Wadsworth of New York and late of Washington. So does General Amos A. Fries. They, and the chemical societies, herald Better Things.

* * *

I'VE kinda lost track of my whereabouts, so full of musing have I been over the newer warfare. It sounds too good to be true,—that war is now to be refined. But men high in the guv'ment say it's so, and that's enough for me. Us highfliers must stick together. I do wish, however, I knew a little more about this territory—I nearly scraped the rudder on that mountain peak. What's going on, over in that valley? I'll have to have a snoop. Gently, thou Floating Cloud; we'll know all in just a minute. Whatever it is, it's the strangest acting gang I ever saw. Thousands of them. Look at those queer, howitzer-like projectors or whatchamacallems! Let me try to picture this amazing scene. To our underneath, ladies and gents, is a ten-mile line of soldiers, I should say they were, all in uniform—gay, too, for there's no use to try to hide, I suppose, in modern chemical war. Hanged if they look much worried, although just across from them is stretched a tremendous line of troops obviously their enemies. These don't seem alarmed either. Well, why don't they *fight*? There they go! A chap far out in the middle, sitting up on a kind of tower, blows a whistle shrilly, and thousands of whistles blow down each line as officers snap into action. Chaplains are praying earnestly on both sides. I can hear them. "Send us a favorable wind, that Right may triumph. . . ." Well, if that's what they want, somebody's going to lose out. The wind is blowing, but in just one direction. Those howitzer things are belching yellowish fumes which roll toward the center between the two lines, then descend on the rows of orange-clad soldiers. The pink-and-blue troops are closing in on them warily. And now, as far as the orange army is concerned, I can't see a thing!

* * *

IT'S a full hour before the air clears. But what a sight! Thousands of orange-clothed men—and women, too, I notice—sneezing, and sneezing, one might say, almost in unison. At length they become so weak from it that they sink down in utter exhaustion. They are helpless. Helpless, and another wave of gas is coming! This one is hardly opaque; I can see that it puts them peacefully to sleep. A little while, and the pink-and-blue army is in full charge, rounding up the losers hundreds at a time, and placing them in neat rows on the ground. Heavens! Are they going to slaughter them? But no; their funny little gas masks, which proved of little benefit, are being taken away, and the huge projectors confiscated. Already, too, the sleeping forms are beginning to revive. They are pretty sad. They look sour. And now, though you may not believe it, the victors are passing about commanding that whiffs be taken out of little vials they carry. With each whiff, the vanquished warriors burst into immediate, unrestrainable laughter—laughing gas, to be sure! And in less than two hours, I swear it, a war has been fought, the controversy settled in favor of the pink-and-blues, whoever they are, and winners and losers are dining together, moved to apparent good cheer by the faint remnants of laughing gas still lingering in the atmosphere.

Haven't they any airplanes? Off, I suppose, pacifying—I think that is the technical term—the non-combatants behind the lines. How that part of the war is handled I can't stay to find out. I can already hear the drone of motors other than my own. I'd better clear out. . . . Look! Some of the soldiers have their heads turned this way. They are pointing—at me! Whatsamatter? I know; they are wondering why all the clouds but one are heading east. I ought to have thought of that. Well, it's time to hurry out of here, with no questions asked. This high speed lever certainly has got me zipping through space.

Wonder, though, if I hadn't better try to find out what country this is. I had no idea that the new war technique was being taken up so generally. Better steer for that little hamlet, there on the long arc of beach, with the vast sea beyond. . . . That inhabitant certainly saw me waving my hand as if I was writing . . . ah! he caught the idea and is making huge letters on the sand. Whatta they spell? . . . "THE IMAGI NATION." The Imagis! Never heard of 'em in my life. Well, all I can say is, they know how to conduct war in the fashion most approved by the humanitarians in our Chemical Warfare Service. And now for home. I must locate it somehow without delay, and tell Fries, Reed, and the other boys how marvellous they are at prophecy.

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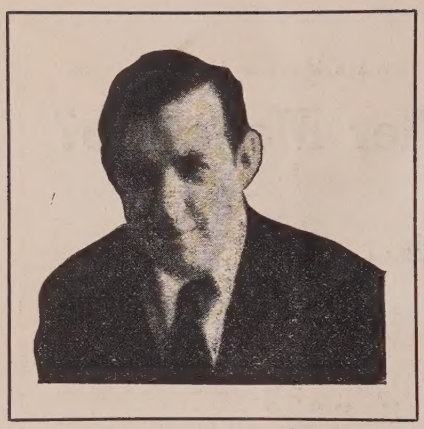

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